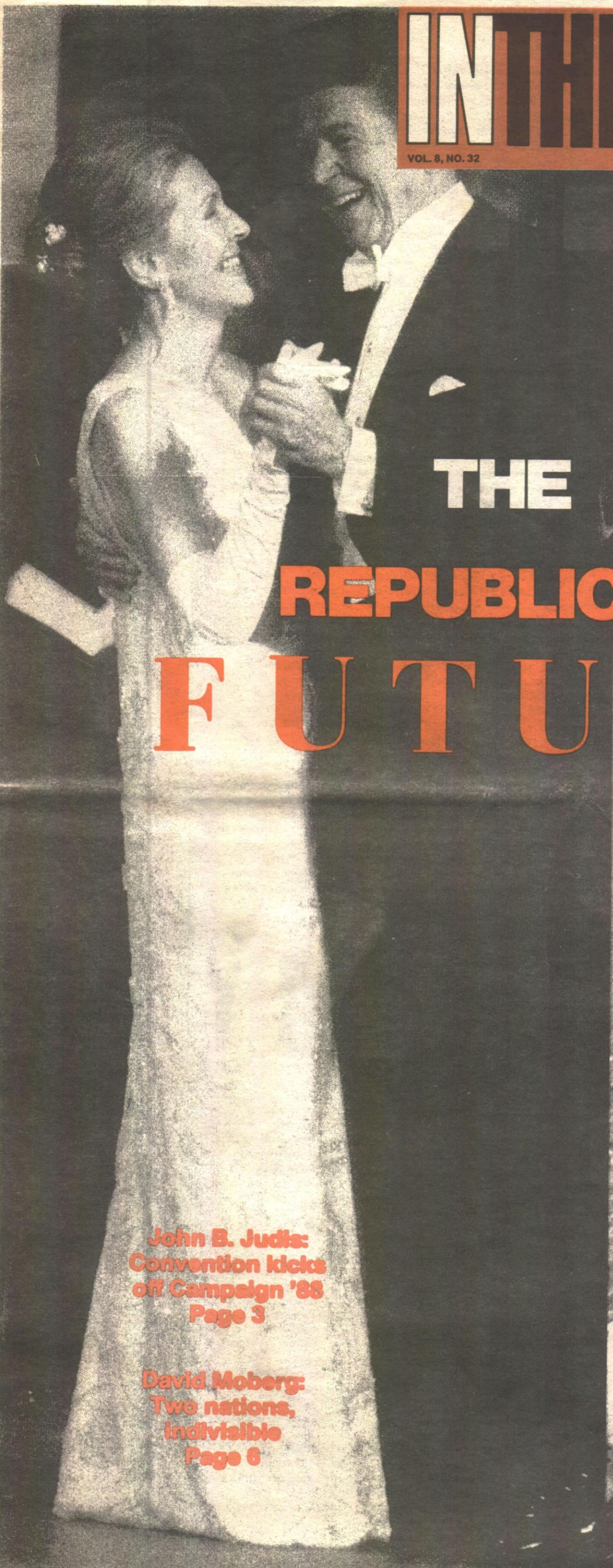


# IN THESE TIMES



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## THE REPUBLICAN FUTURE



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# Citizens Party and its candidate face funding problem

By Helen Cordes

ST. PAUL, MN

The nomination of feminist Sonia Johnson as Citizens Party presidential candidate August 11 here was about as unexpected as Walter Mondale's victory in San Francisco last month. Almost all of the 125 delegates cast their votes for Johnson, best known for her excommunication from the Mormon Church because of her ERA support, and vice-presidential candidate Richard Walton, author and journalist.

Yet despite the predictable Johnson-Walton victory and a general goodwill that seemed to comply with a platform stressing feminism, anti-militarism and the environment, the convention showcased some serious problems faced by both the Citizens Party and Johnson's campaign.

While the status of both were elevated considerably by the recent infusion of \$140,000 in federal matching primary funds, both are running into financial problems. The Citizens Party still boasts 30,000 members and 35 chapters nationwide, but its national office no longer exists—the staff closed its doors just days before the convention. And the organization faces \$75,000 in debts from the Barry Commoner/LaDonna Harris presidential campaign of 1980 and an additional \$20,000 in operational debts. Just two weeks before the convention, the two convention co-chairs resigned, leaving a skeleton staff and volunteers to coordinate the convention.

## Nowhere to go.

Johnson now faces a reverse funding problem. "I've got \$180,000 in the bank and I'm scared to death I won't be able to legally spend it before the deadline and will have to give it back to the government," she said, citing restrictive Federal Election Committee rules that she believes won't allow her to use the funds.

Meanwhile, many convention delegates said they were concerned about dispersal of the funds, which they contend came mainly from fundraising efforts of party chapters. "We were told the money was going to the Citizens Party and Sonia Johnson, and that the chapters would get some of it back," said Alice Kelsey, a New York delegate. Johnson acknowledged that aides who no longer work for her campaign had mistakenly told chapter members that Sonia Johnson is now officially the Citizens Party presidential candidate.



half of the funds would be returned. "I'd love to do it, but I'm telling the members that it might not be legal to do so," Johnson said.

Many delegates also feared that Johnson's focus on a feminist perspective might obscure the presentation of other Citizens Party issues. Some suggested that she was using the Citizens Party as a vehicle to promote her views and would leave when the campaign was over, taking her new supporters in the party with her.

The idea of running a presidential candidate in this election year had been opposed by people both in and outside the Citizens Party. A contingent mainly from California, Washington, Oregon and Maryland pledged presidential support to the Rev. Jesse Jackson. And Commoner, a Citizens Party founder, was a prominent Jackson backer.

Many who share the convictions of the party were critical of the presidential bid, fearing it would siphon off Democratic votes that could help defeat Reagan. But Johnson, Walton and the overwhelming number of convention delegates questioned disputed that view.

"The idea that we have to vote for a Democrat—any Democrat—to defeat Reagan is very repressive," Johnson said in a convention interview. "It completely removes the freedom and the responsibility to work for what you believe in. And these 'progressives' who have capitulated to voting Democrat will admit that the Democrats are not doing the things we want them to do."

Said Walton, "So the Democratic candidate promises to only raise the military budget 4 percent as compared to the Republicans' 7 percent. Big deal."

"If we believe the Democrats and Republicans are both bankrupt, we must present a new system. And what better way to do it than a presidential campaign," he said. Walton is a firm third-party believer who has just completed a book on third-party candidate Henry Wallace, Harry Truman and the Cold War.

## The bottom line.

Johnson said she tells her supporters to vote their consciences and would not care if they voted for Walter Mondale. "I hope Mondale wins—and I also believe adding Geraldine Ferraro was wonderful; a very empowering move for women," she observed. But the bottom line, she believes, is that votes that may go to the Citizens Party would not endanger the effort to oust Reagan. "Say we got 200,000 votes and maybe half would have gone to the Democrats. That's not enough numbers to affect the election." She believes many Citizens Party votes will come from disenfranchised voters who would otherwise not vote at all.

Johnson allowed that she was attracted to Jackson's stances, many of which match hers. "But the difference is that Jackson doesn't really understand the oppression of women," she said. "He thinks women's issues are restricted to things like ERA, abortion and pay issues, and that's that."

For Johnson, feminism is a world view based on the ideals of "women at their best. The criteria of feminism is: is it good for people? Feminism means that we work against violence in all forms, encourage local control and true democracy, and take care of the earth."

She admitted that the use of the word "feminism" might confuse both party members and outsiders who might interpret the campaign as one-issue. "A lot of people would prefer I use the

# THE STORY INSIDER

word 'humanism,'" she said, "but that's not exactly what I mean."

Johnson acknowledged that she may be perceived as taking over the party. "I brought in a lot of new people with my campaign," she said. "But whether or not they stay is up to the party."

Her future in the party is uncertain. "It's terribly unstable right now," she said. "They may have to come up with a new structure."

But while such sentiments led some delegates to question Johnson's commitment to the party, other delegates were sympathetic. "There is a difference in the goals of the candidate and the goals of the party that happens in every election," said John Sillito, Utah delegate. "There were a lot of people who came in with Commoner and wanted nothing to do with any established political party, even the Citizens Party. And now he's left the leadership and is supporting someone else, and no one here is complaining about that."

Sillito had hoped for more negotiations between the old Citizens Party membership and the new members brought in by Johnson and also had looked for more coalition building between the party and other left groups. "With the Citizens party receiving matching funds and increased profile, it would be an ideal time to pull together," said Sillito.

Thus despite the party's philosophical and financial problems, many appeared confident that it would endure. "Our chapters and their grassroots activities are where the party's real strength is," national party director Wendy Adler said, pointing out that chapters have fielded candidates in 255 campaigns in 26 states and have won 17 races.

Helen Cordes is a Twin Cities-based freelance writer.



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## IN THESE TIMES

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

**T**HIS YEAR'S REPUBLICAN CONVENTION, scheduled for Dallas August 20-24, could be held in a television studio. For the first time since 1956, the nominee will not be challenged. Whatever public drama occurs in Dallas will have been staged to attract viewer interest.

But at cocktail parties and receptions, a private drama will take place: the different factions that hope to take over in 1988 will be trying to lay the basis for their ascendancy. To many delegates in Dallas, the issue will not be 1984, but 1988.

In part, the issue is who will run and be nominated—at this date, Vice President George Bush, Rep. Jack Kemp (NY), Senators Howard Baker (TN) and Robert Dole (KS), and unsuccessful New York gubernatorial candidate Lewis Lehrman seem to be at the starting blocks. But the issue is also the politics and program of the party. If the Democrats are largely a party of interest groups and constituencies, the Republicans have become a party of factions, contesting not merely for political but ideological hegemony. The prevalence of these factions is not a sign of decay, but of ferment and growth.

**The factions.**

In the early '60s there were three Republican factions: the "liberals," based primarily in the Northeast and virtually indistinguishable from liberal Democrats; the "Main Street" Republicans, based in the Midwest and descended from the loyal opposition party of Ohio Sen. Robert Taft; and the newly emerging "conservatives," based primarily in the West and South.

The most prominent liberal was New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, the most prominent Main Street Republican Illinois Sen. Everett Dirksen (a decade later Michigan Rep. Gerald Ford), and the most prominent conservative Arizona Sen. Barry Goldwater.

But by 1984, the Republican deck has been thoroughly shuffled. Liberal Republicanism is virtually extinct, killed off by conservative primary challenges. Now it is represented by one senator, Connecticut's Lowell Weicker, Representatives Jim Leach (IA), Bill Green (NY) and Claudine Schneider (RI), and the invisible Ripon Society, founded in 1962 to preserve the party of Lincoln against the Goldwaterites.

At the 1984 convention, the Society's main initiative will be a proposal to reform party rules so that delegate representation is proportional to the number of Republicans in a state rather than being weighted toward those smaller Southern and Western states that have backed the Republican candidate in November. Undoubtedly the Ripon proposal will fail.

Main Street Republicanism is still a vital force in Congress, where it is repre-

Rep. Jack Kemp of New York



sented by the party's principal leaders, Dole, Baker, Sen. Charles Percy (IL) and Rep. Robert Michel (IL). But it is not really an ideological or political faction—its principal tenet is legislative compromise—and has no clout in the national party.

On July 30 at Washington's Hyatt Regency Hotel, Weicker and five Main Street senators held their own platform hearings. At the sparsely attended gathering, groups far to the left of the Republican delegates at Dallas voiced support for abortion rights, the equal rights amendment, the nuclear freeze and the reduction of the military budget. John T. Dolan, the director of the New Right National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), dropped by to tell the senators that they could best "help the Republican Party by leaving it." Afterwards, Dolan's crack drew the most media attention.

**New and old right.**

In 1964, the conservatives were a single unified faction. By 1980 there were at least two rival factions—the "old right" of Reagan, Goldwater and *National Review* and the "new right" of direct mail specialist Richard Viguerie, Dolan and Sen. Jesse Helms (NC). By 1984, there are at least three conservative factions—the old and new rights, and Georgia Rep. Newt Gingrich's Conservative Opportunity Society.

Factions function best in opposition. The old right developed in the '50s as tempered by Goldwater's landslide defeat in 1964 and was mellowed by Reagan's win in 1980. It was born out of a conviction that Communism must not merely be "contained" but "rolled back"—Reagan's recent radio soundcheck about bombing the Soviet Union represents the old right's underlying fantasy of annihilating that country—and that the growth of the welfare state must not merely be slowed (the Main Street alternative) but reversed. The speculation that Reagan has a "secret agenda" couldn't be further from the truth.

But in order to win electoral majorities and to govern, the old right has had to relegate its deepest convictions to the lecture. In office, the old right has often acted like Main Street Republicans. The Reagan administration acquiesced in two major tax increases and the largest budget deficits in history and abided by SALT II. If Reagan wins a second term, the confusion about principles and practice will only deepen.

In the 1978 and 1980 elections, the new right emerged as the most formidable Republican faction. The new right leaders were Goldwater conservatives influenced by the success of George Wallace's presidential campaigns. They saw in the combined majority of Nixon and Wallace in 1968 what Kevin Phillips called "an emerging Republican majority." But they believed that in order for this majority to emerge, the Republicans would have to cast overboard their liberal and Main Street tendencies and adopt Wallace's emphasis on social issues and neo-populism anti-elitism.

The new right leaders diverged from the old not only in their emphasis on issues that might attract erstwhile Wallace Democrats, but also in their willingness to contemplate a break with the Republican Party if it refused their direction. In 1976, Viguerie bolted the Republican Party and toyed with running himself on the American Independent Party ticket. In 1984, smarting from defeat in '82, Viguerie, Conservative Caucus chair Howard Phillips and Paul Weyrich, the president of Coalitions for America, are again threatening to form a third party (*In These Times*, March 21).

The new right leaders have differing visions of the new "populist conservative party" that would be founded after the 1984 elections. Weyrich compares it to the old Wisconsin Progressive Party, which ran candidates in a few congressional districts, but did not pretend to displace the major parties nationally.

Phillips talks of a major new party that would run its own presidential candidate in '88 if Bush is the Republican choice.

The new right's threatened schism has drawn angry responses from the old right. It has also imperiled the alliance between the new right and conservative Christian evangelicals, most of whom are very loyal to Reagan, and have warned privately that if Viguerie, Phillips and Weyrich proceed with their plans, they can forget the support of the Christian right.

**High-tech conservatism.**

The new right's strategy is based on a correct perception of the limits of present

Republicanism. The party, as presently oriented, seems likely to win national elections, but not to wrest the House from the Democrats. But the new right third-party strategy may marginalize it as a faction rather than create the basis of a new conservative majority.

As the new right has drifted into sectarian opposition to the Reagan administration, a new group of conservatives have come to the fore. Last October in Baltimore, a group of 12 Republican House members, styling themselves the "Conservative Opportunity Society" (COS), held a conference on the future of

*Continued on page 8*

Vice President George Bush is in the starting blocks for presidential campaign '88.



Sens. Howard Baker and Robert Dole are also possible contenders.

## Factions battle for clout in the Republican Party



# IN SHORT

## Kids for hire

When is a farmworker not a farmworker? When he or she is a sharecropper, according to a 1982 court decision recently upheld by the Sixth District Court of Appeals. The courts found that the Department of Labor could not penalize a Michigan pickle grower for using child labor, since the child's parent was in a "profit-sharing relationship" with the grower and could thus "hire" his or her own children. Growers in the pickle fields usually split a farmworker's harvest 50-50—the highest quality pickles go for \$70 a ton. Each grower, of course, "shares the profits" of many farmworkers, while farmworkers support families on their share.

The case is having implications beyond the pickle fields. In the Midwest and Texas, federal authorities are trying to make farmworkers pay Social Security taxes on their family members' wages. The Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), leaders of the Campbell's Soup boycott, has taken up the issue because one-third of the pickle industry in Ohio and Michigan is controlled by Campbell-owned Vlasic. Last week the FLOC led a tour of the pickle fields for church groups and political leaders, trying to organize support for its campaign to win a contract with Campbell's—who maintains in this situation, as in its tomato operations, that the growers, not the company, are the employers the workers must deal with. Texas Agricultural Commissioner Jim Hightower reasons differently. He points to a \$1.39 jar of Vlasic pickles, and notes that the grower and farmworker each got about seven cents out of the deal—the other \$1.25 went to Campbell's. FLOC has petitioned the appeals court to rehear the sharecropping case, as have the states of Texas, Wisconsin and Michigan. "Sharecropping is what the southern growers came up with after the Civil War to hold onto their slaves," notes FLOC leader Baldemar Velasquez. "We want a contract."

## Paradise lost

Adam Purple is accusing New York City housing authorities of trying to pave paradise to put up an apartment house, Jon Kalish reports. The city plans to bulldoze the Garden of Eden, a vegetable and flower plot Purple created on six vacant lots on Manhattan's lower east side, in order to build apartments for senior citizens and low-income families. Purple, an eccentric squatter in purple tie-dyed clothes and purple sunglasses, lives without electricity or hot water in an abandoned building overlooking the urban oasis. The city plans to clear the garden and raze the building Purple lives in before the year is out. "I feel like a Vietnamese farmer," he said as a demolition crew began to tear down a building.

But Miriam Friedlander, on the city council's left wing, thinks a better label for Purple is "selfish." Friedlander supports the housing project and wants to move the garden to another nearby parcel of land. "Mr. Purple has been offered another plot. I think he's trying to disrupt what this community needs so badly—housing." Purple's lawyer has gone to court to stop the bulldozers, arguing that destroying the garden would violate a recently enacted state law prohibiting the mutilation of art works. Purple has been certified as an artist by the city's Department of Cultural Affairs, which designated the garden an earthwork.

## Hiroshima remembered

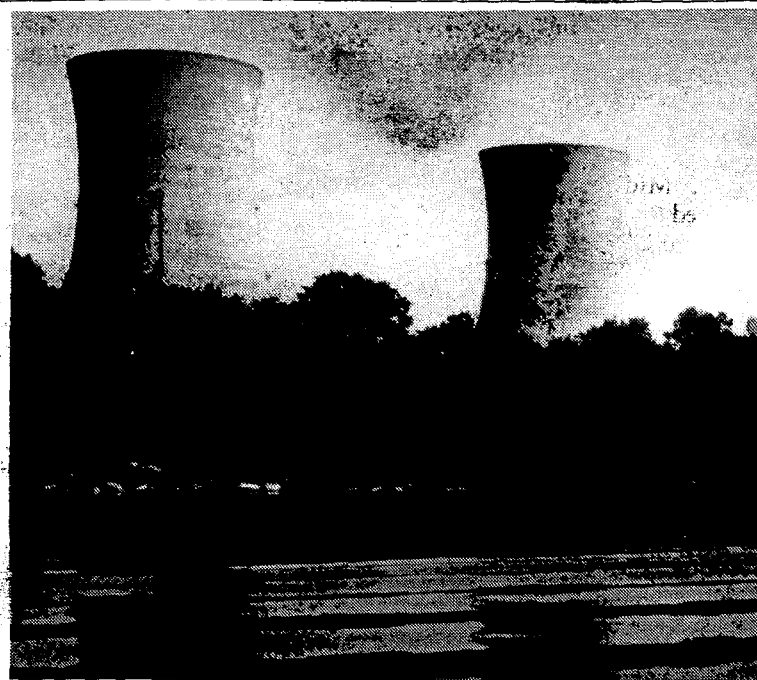
One hundred women demonstrated at a Sperry Corporation plant in St. Paul, Minn., August 6 to commemorate the 1945 U.S. atomic bombing of Hiroshima, Mordecai Spektor reports. The weekend's "Festival of Resistance" was organized by the Minnesota Women's Peace Camp, which has staged several non-violent civil disobedience actions at Sperry over the past 10 months. Thirteen women were arrested when they blocked a gate during the action.

Mim Olson, a peace activist from Marshall, Minn., said the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was an attempt "to assert U.S. power during the post-World War II reconstruction." Olson called on Sperry to stop its production of first strike nuclear weapons—Pershing II, MX and cruise missiles. Sperry received \$1.5 billion in government contracts in 1983. Sperry is contracted to produce an electronic trigger for the ground-launched cruise missile, and shipboard computers and navigation systems for Trident fleet ballistic missile submarines.

## Holiday gift ideas

As your mailbox begins to fill up with fall, winter and holiday catalogs, you may still be unable to find the household tools you need at truly unbelievable prices. If that's the case, check *Nuts and Bolts at the Pentagon: A Spare Parts Catalog*, published by the Defense Budget Project of the Washington, D.C.-based Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. It's a compendium of Pentagon waste, pulling together items that cost next to nothing at a hardware store but that the military pays hundreds, even thousands of dollars for. Included are the notorious 12-cent allen wrench that cost \$9,609, and the \$17 hammer the Navy paid \$436 for. There are less well-known luxuries like the \$11 tool box that goes for \$652, and the \$28,840 computer printer—a nice gift idea—that McDonnell Douglas charged \$145,950 for. The catalog is good for more than a laugh—it examines the congressional audits and testimony about the overcharging controversy, explains the complicated purchasing and payment process that the military says distorts the prices and reports that even federal investigators have concluded that internal efforts at reform are not likely to produce "meaningful or lasting improvements."

—Joan Walsh



## TMI worker wins suit

HARRISBURG, PA—A mid-July victory in a suit brought by a fired nuclear worker against a Three Mile Island clean-up contractor signals a grudging concession by the nuclear industry that workers' rights to safety must be reckoned with.

Two weeks after the March 1979 accident at the Three Mile Island (TMI) nuclear plant near Harrisburg, William Pensyl was hired by Catalytic, Inc., to work in the clean-up of the damaged reactor. Pensyl's primary responsibility was to undress the men who worked cleaning up the radioactive core, a job that entailed peeling off their five pairs of boots, two pairs of coveralls, two hoods, three pairs of gloves and their full-face respirators. The "undressers" themselves wore layers of plastic garments and a respirator.

When Pensyl was hired he was told in a training session that nuclear radiation was "like x-rays," but that extra protective garments above the minimum could be worn as desired. Said Pensyl, "In the beginning of the clean-up they weren't too sure what they were doing and let us use whatever we wanted. Things went slow but I felt pretty well protect-

ed, before the change."

The "change" came three years later on Aug. 12, 1982, when Pensyl's Catalytic supervisor announced that respirators would no longer be used by the undressers. Later, Pensyl's attorney, Arthur Schwartz, called the order a "public relations move and an old-fashioned speed-up." He explained, "By saying that respirators aren't needed, they are trying to create the illusion that it's getting safer inside, that management has things under control." Workers can put in five-hour shifts without respirators, but only work two hours wearing them.

Fearing that he'd be dangerously exposed without the respirator, Pensyl refused to work and was fired on August 30. The company said he was "unmanageable" and in violation of the six-year "no strike" provision of the TMI Recovery Act which was signed by all unions working at TMI.

Pensyl's union, Laborers International Union of North America Local 1180, was unsure how to proceed since it was under contract to provide laborers. When it did not file a grievance, Pensyl decided to pursue it him-

## Abortion vote slowed, not stopped

BOSTON—Reproductive rights advocates in Massachusetts began the summer expecting to face a November referendum that could have outlawed abortion in the state. Now the issue won't make the ballot until 1986, but the change may favor the anti-choice forces.

The anti-abortion lobby has

for years been working through the state legislature to put the abortion issue directly before the voters. To alter the Massachusetts constitution, an amendment must be approved by two successive legislatures, and then placed on the ballot. Meeting in a constitutional convention in January 1983, the State House and Senate passed a resolution that the state's General Court "may regulate or prohibit" abortion, and private and public abortion funding, services or facilities.

Pro-choice groups, expecting that a second constitutional convention this year would get the

self.

Attorney Schwartz argued his case on the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's principle that workers' radiation exposure should be kept "as low as reasonably achievable" (ALARA). The ALARA guideline acknowledges that there is no safe "threshold," and prescribes cautious, conservative workplace procedures. In Pensyl's case, scientific evidence established that Pensyl's fear of exposure was justified and that Catalytic's order to remove the respirators contradicted the ALARA guideline.

Secretary of Labor Raymond Donovan finally upheld Pensyl's right to refuse work after an initial Department of Labor (DOL) ruling found Pensyl "insubordinate." After Donovan's decision, Catalytic agreed to a settlement of back pay and reinstatement in a non-nuclear job.

Already there are reports that those working without respirators at TMI were contaminated by inhaling radiation. "Though we've won our case, Catalytic has succeeded in getting the job done without respirators for the past two years," Pensyl notes. "The back pay—that's peanuts to them."

But Pensyl may be underestimating the impact of the case. In firing him, Catalytic was asserting that workers are not to exercise their own judgment on issues of safety, but to trust the judgment of the company. The DOL ruling, however, reasserts the workers' right to act on their reasonable fears when working in hazardous industries. The Pennsylvania state legislature, aware of Pensyl's ordeal, is now considering nuclear worker safety regulation.

"The Reagan administration cuts back dramatically on the government's role in insuring safe workplaces," says Tony Mazzochi of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers. "And guys like Bill are saying, 'Okay, then give us the power to protect ourselves.' We need empowered workers' health deputies in every workplace."

—Marge Harrison

referendum on the November ballot, began a statewide campaign to locate and mobilize supporters of legal abortion. But in a June convention, the legislature passed a more stringent amendment that will have to be voted on yet again and won't appear on the ballot until November 1986.

It was a partial victory for anti-abortion forces, because the old resolution was considered legally flawed and open to challenge if passed. The new resolution allows Massachusetts to restrict abortion, but not outlaw it (as long as the Supreme Court's

## SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander





Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1300 West Belmont, Chicago, Ill. 60657. Please include your address and phone number.

*Roe v. Wade* decision stands). The state could restrict access by prohibiting Medicaid and insurance funding and limiting where and when abortions could legally be performed. In cases where a mother's health is endangered by carrying the fetus, the resolution will allow courts to decide that abortion cannot be performed until the woman's life is actually in danger; the threat of danger would not be sufficient.

The anti-abortion movement is banking on Reagan's re-election and the prospect of his naming new, anti-choice Supreme Court justices by November 1986. Such a Court would most likely overturn *Roe v. Wade* and give states the sole right to regulate or outlaw abortions.

Anti-choice groups were also pessimistic about the referendum's chances in 1984. Recent polls show the great majority of Massachusetts residents (79 percent) do not believe that the government has the right to interfere with a woman's right to choose abortion. Even a substantial minority of Catholics do not want the state to have such power. But the Catholic Church in Massachusetts is sure to increase its anti-abortion lobbying and rhetoric, and the recently installed Archbishop Bernard Law is expected to play a major role in mobilizing the pro-life forces.

MASSCHOICE is the center of pro-choice organizing in Massachusetts. It reaches the public through traditional grassroots organizing methods—house meetings, postcard tables, political skills workshops and fundraising events. The MASSCHOICE PAC has backed five candidates for the Massachusetts Senate, and if they win there will be a pro-choice majority in the State Senate. The group is working with Planned Parenthood, the Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union, League of Women Voters, NOW, R2N2 (a national reproductive rights group), Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights and Catholics for a Free Choice.

Nationally, anti-abortion forces have grown more assertive in recent years. Bombings and other violent acts aimed at abortion clinics have increased. Campaigns to put anti-choice referenda on state ballots are occurring nationwide. In Oregon, Washington, Arkansas, Colorado and Michigan enough signatures have been collected to put referenda that prohibit state Medicaid funds for abortions on this November's ballot. The National Abortion Rights Action League is working to defeat these referenda and is currently challenging the validity of the signatures, in an effort to keep the referenda off the ballot this fall.

—Mona Hochberg

## Citizen Action eyes election

PITTSBURGH, PA—The Citizen Action network, with 22 state affiliates, has traditionally been a loose confederation of organizations sharing common agendas in their home states but no national program. That's been gradually

changing, and this election year has accelerated the process.

Its leadership conference in Pittsburgh the last weekend in July, co-sponsored by its training institute, Midwest Academy, highlighted the group's plans for an electoral offensive to defeat Ronald Reagan and elect left and liberal candidates to national, state and local office. Citizen Action will work for seven U.S. Senate candidates, 44 House hopefuls, 54 state and local officeholders, and is sponsoring a voter registration effort to register 750,000 new voters.

To date, Citizen Action has had little national recognition. Some of the stronger state organizations, such as the Ohio Public Interest Campaign, California's Campaign for Economic Democracy and the Illinois Public Action Council, have attracted notice. Through its Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, it mobilized enough grassroots opposition to help kill Reagan's proposal to decontrol natural gas (a rare and unexpected defeat for the administration), which in turn prompted Mobil Oil to exorcise the organization in several of its "public service" Op-Ed advertisements. Earlier this year, Citizen Action began a National Campaign Against Toxic Hazards, and already a significant strengthening of national Superfund legislation appears within its political reach.

But electoral work will demand most of the network's national energy this year, absorbing much of its combined \$1.8 million budget and 1.5 million members. A door-to-door canvass in 300 congressional districts is pitching both the Citizen Action agenda as well as its chosen candidates.

The electoral emphasis is only part of a deeper organizational change. Formed in 1979 as a coalition of autonomous state organizations, in the last year the network's localism—in politics and in money—has yielded to greater central control and national focus. National Board and staff members speak of much that remains to be done; Citizen Action, in national terms, is still in its nascency. But the consolidation to date has been dramatic, and the future direction clear.

Both of these changes—going electoral and going national—are in large measure a response to the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980. Among the many changes that Reagan has wrought, the left can thank him for at least these: he has pushed hundreds of disparate local organizing efforts into national politics, and he has taught them that elections are a necessary arena for political activity. Citizen Action is a striking example of this new type of organization: national, yet rooted in local communities, and combining elections with the more traditional tactics of protest and direct action.

At least some people see clearly what is happening. Listen to the Heritage Foundation, think tank of the New Right. They recently discovered the "Hidden Agenda, Hidden Danger" in Citizen Action: it had "succeeded where others have failed" to offer community groups "a path to mainstream power."

—David Blankenhorn

## Briefing: Connecticut's two Democratic parties

WEST HARTFORD, CT—There are two states of Connecticut: one with the second-highest per capita income in the U.S., another with three of the poorest inner-cities. Connecticut has two Democratic Parties, as well. One elects anti-Reagan liberals to the U.S. Congress. The other elects state legislators who oppose tax reform, social services and plant-closing legislation.

In such a setting, Miles Rapoport seems to be running in the wrong race. Not only is he waging a reform campaign for state office, he's also challenging a powerful five-term incumbent Democrat in West Hartford, one of the state's wealthiest suburbs. He even gave up his job as director of the Connecticut Citizen Action Group (CCAG), a grassroots organization founded by Ralph Nader, to do it.

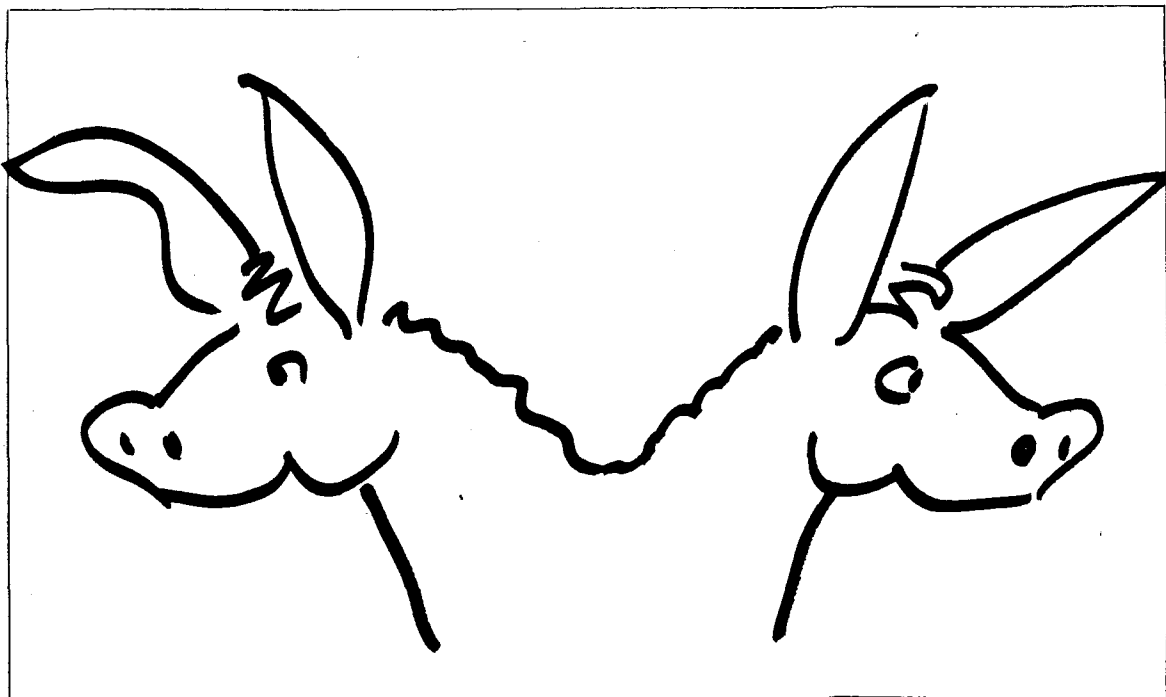
But Rapoport believes reform politics can sell in the suburbs, if packaged properly.

His campaign for the September 11 West Hartford Democratic primary, which has attracted the support of local women's and labor groups as well as the CCAG, will test that proposition. A local newspaper

death," Rapoport says amid the rattle of a computer printer in his cluttered West Hartford campaign office. But the 34-year-old organizer believes he can convince residents that a progressive income tax would replace a system of unfairly "selective" taxes, including an unincorporated business tax that effectively taxes the incomes of doctors and lawyers but not officers of corporations.

Because 26 percent of the 18th assembly district is 65 or older, Rapoport also feels Kemler is vulnerable for voting against senior citizens programs. And since many upwardly mobile families move to West Hartford to put their kids in decent public schools, he considers their disagreement over education funding an advantage as well.

His success in attracting 200 volunteers and \$18,000 in contributions so far—both high totals for a state representative candidacy—makes his campaign less quixotic than some people believe. But he admits he has an uphill fight. Kemler has never even faced a primary before and always wins the general election handily.



has dubbed the race a "fight for the soul of the state Democratic Party." Rapoport's opponent, Joan Kemler, symbolizes the party's conservative leadership, which Rapoport refers to as "business-as-usual" Democrats. As an assistant majority leader Kemler often enforces their agenda. She opposes programs for the elderly, stiffer scrutiny of utility rate hikes and increased state aid for education. (Connecticut ranks 45th of the 50 states in funding local public schools.)

Rapoport and Kemler also disagree on the issue that perhaps most divides the two Connecticut Democrats: the institution of a state income tax. Urban state legislators have tried in vain for years to institute the tax and overhaul the current regressive system, which relies largely on a 7.5 percent sales tax.

"Many people feel being for an income tax is the kiss of

If Rapoport wins, however, he will join the 20 or 30 Democratic legislators trying to disrupt "business-as-usual" at the state capitol.

Forty-five miles south of West Hartford, left activists are working on a different challenge for the state legislature. Unlike Miles Rapoport, Pat Dillon is no longshot: two years ago she lost her bid in New Haven's 92nd assembly district by a heart-breaking 57 votes, a margin of .78 of 1 percent. Now she wants a rematch.

Dillon, an outspoken feminist and pro-labor New Haven alderwoman, also faces an entrenched state representative. Her opponent, Republican Rosalind Berman, daughter of a union organizer, has her own ties to women and labor. She has proposed and supported important state legislation on daycare, abortion, marital rape and confidentiality for rape victims. She

was one of only two Republican candidates for state office backed in 1982 by the local Central Labor Council; the endorsement helped her squeak by Dillon in the election. Berman is favored to receive the endorsement again.

Both Berman and Dillon have voted consistently for labor. But according to an organizer for the labor council, Berman is seen as more "professional," sending letters, for example, to remind members of favors she's done for them. (Dillon points out that as an unpaid alderwoman she doesn't enjoy the franking privileges Berman does.)

Perhaps more importantly, the labor council organizer said, many traditional male unionists consider Dillon too "abrasive." Dillon hasn't backed down, for example, from confronting the city's male Democratic administration and passing an ordinance that cut off city-sponsored memberships in male-only institutions.

Dillon is a tough campaigner. Her close showing in 1982 shocked political observers, who considered Berman unbeatable. Dillon has earned loyal community support for helping to found the city's battered women shelter, backing Yale University's largely female clerical union in labor disputes and passing an ordinance that requires 6 percent of city contracting business to go to firms

headed by women.

Unlike many political activists her age, Dillon, 36, has developed an uncanny ability for working within the Democratic Party to pass such legislation. In that sense she identifies with Geraldine Ferraro, who, like Dillon, talks about her working-class Catholic background.

Ferraro's campaign may actually affect Dillon's race, because Connecticut's party lever greatly affects many state races. Half of Dillon's district is the impoverished Edgewood neighborhood, which will likely vote overwhelmingly Democratic. But the other half encompasses the upper-middle-class Westville section of town. Feeling there about the Mondale-Ferraro ticket may well decide the fortunes of the local left in November's state elections—and whether Connecticut's "other" Democratic Party gains clout at the state capitol.

—Carole and Paul Bass



## IN THE NATION

## POVERTY

## The poor still getting poorer

By David Moberg

**T**HE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE proclaims that all men—and, we would now emphasize, women—are created equal. If so, it's a fleeting experience. Even before Ronald Reagan came to the White House, the U.S. was the most unequal of major industrialized countries in the distribution of wealth and income (Mitterrand having nudged France out of the bottom rank). In the late '70s the small steps toward greater equality taken during the War on Poverty already were being eroded, but in the Reagan years the polarization of American society has been intensified with a vengeance.

It has always been folk wisdom that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. Folk wisdom now has ample statistical support. Not only have the numbers and proportion of the poor increased, thanks to deep budget cuts, regressive tax changes and a prolonged recession, but also the ranks of the "middle class" worker are being threatened. Meanwhile, income and wealth for the professionals and managers as well as the tiny elite of the truly rich have surged upward, in many respects as an almost direct transfer from the pockets of the poor.

Much as Ronald Reagan deserves credit for this march toward greater inequality, it would be a mistake to see it as linked to Reagan alone. The tendencies were already present under Jimmy Carter, and Walter Mondale has given little indication that he is willing to confront—or that he understands—the challenges, even if he promises to be less of a Scrooge with the miserably poor and less of a Santa Claus to the rich when the tax laws are drawn up than Reagan has been.

The challenges are not simply matters of fine-tuning government policy. More fundamentally, a changing economy will push toward greater inequality without dramatic intervention. Yet there has also been a political change.

As Thomas Byrne Edsall argues in an intriguing new book, *The New Politics of Inequality*, the major parties and the functioning of the political system have changed in ways that shift even more political power to the upper class and to a conservative, class-conscious Republican Party in confronting a divided, confused and spineless Democratic Party. The rich are using that power to increase inequality even further. They have succeeded in part because their money buys power but also because they have been able to define the agenda of political debate and the prevailing political culture, taking

away the initiative that the left momentarily seized in the '60s.

Let's start with the poor. By Bureau of Census standards, six million more people have been pushed into poverty since 1980, bringing the total to 35.3 million. Nearly one million have been added since last year despite administration claims as well as past post-recession precedent suggesting that the poverty rate would drop with the recovery that began last year. Nearly 40 percent of this recent increase in poverty has been among children below the age of six; one-fourth of all children below age six now live in poverty (more than half of all young black and Hispanic children).

In general, poverty rates have swung upward to the highest level since 1965—15.2 percent of the population—and a jump by one-fifth since 1980. Since the number of elderly poor has declined in recent years, largely thanks to indexed Social Security payments that may be threatened in any future round of budget-cutting, this increase reflects an especially dramatic impoverishment of families with children, especially those headed by women. Now 43 percent of all poor families are headed by women who are not elderly; in the last few years poverty among households headed by women rose again after years of slow decline. Women and children, it seems, have taken the brunt of the attack.

Some conservatives have claimed that the poverty figures are inflated, since they count cash payments (like Social Security or public assistance) but not in-kind help (like Medicaid). But having an operation doesn't lift someone out of poverty. Moreover, in-kind and all other programs for the poor have been cut the most harshly in the Reagan budgets.

In his July 24 press conference, Reagan said, "As for [the charge] that our budget practices have victimized the poor and the needy, there is not one single fact or figure to substantiate that." The Center for Budget and Policy Priorities compiled from official government sources a few facts and figures in refutation:

- 1981 budget cuts pushed 560,000 people into poverty, according to a Congressional Research Service report that did not count the impact of many program cuts;

- 493,000 single-parent families with children were cut from Aid to Families with Dependent Children (in cities surveyed, 30-60 percent of the families had no health care coverage, half at times ran out of food and one-fourth had utilities cut off at some point after their aid ended); and

- over the four fiscal years 1982-85, programs for low income people were cut

by \$57 billion (adjusted for inflation and unemployment), twice as deeply as social programs not targeted to the poor.

**Poverty on the rise.**

The upward trend in poverty is clear no matter where the line is drawn (indeed the increase is proportionately larger using most of the alternative definitions). From a left perspective, the poverty line is probably too low (inadequately reflecting recent proportional increases in payments for housing, for example).

More seriously, it does not exclude the bite taken out by income and Social Security taxes. Since Reagan's tax policies have hit those on the lower rungs of the ladder hardest, the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities calculated that using after-tax figures would add another three million to the poverty rolls.

Tax policies, contrary to Reagan claims, have worked at least as much as budget cuts to increase inequality. Based on figures compiled by the Joint Committee on Taxation, families with an income of \$75,000 or less suffered a net loss of income as a result of income and Social Security tax changes—for example, over the years 1982-84 a net loss of \$95 for families under \$10,000, \$186 for those from \$10-20,000 and declining amounts from that point upward. Those families with incomes greater than \$200,000, however, averaged a net gain of \$17,403.

Combining the effect of tax and benefit changes shows even more clearly the winners and losers under Reagan. The Congressional Budget Office, under its new conservative director, concluded that between 1983 and 1985 households making less than \$10,000 a year will lose \$23 billion. On the other hand, households making more than \$80,000 a year (the top 1.4 percent of the population), will gain \$35 billion. That works out to a \$1,100 loss for the low-income household and a \$24,000 gain for the wealthy household.

On top of these regressive tax and budget effects, there has obviously been the very deep, long recession, with unemployment once again on the rise to 7.4 percent. During the past several years roughly 20 to 22 percent of the workforce suffered some period of unemployment, with the median period out of a job at around 15 weeks.

That means about 25 million people lost income each year as a result of unemployment (if they were at the median income, that would mean a loss of an average about \$4,000 minus any unemployment benefits). Because of changed regulations and funding and because of lengthier spells of unemployment, the number of jobless receiving unemployment compensation dropped dramatically: only 29 percent of the unemployed currently receive compensation.

In a report released last week on *The Reagan Record*, the Urban Institute, a centrist think-tank, concluded that median income during the Reagan years would increase 3.5 percent, historically a very modest gain. There are several caveats. First, they also estimated that the median income would have increased 4 percent under pre-Reagan policies anyway. Second, over most of the Reagan tenure, median income declined, dropping by 9 percent. Using their figures, the median family lost more than \$7,000 in disposable income over the years 1980-1983. Finally, the rise in the median figure obscures the increased polarization of income—the poor getting poorer, the rich getting richer and the middle income ranks thinning out.

The Urban Institute, for example, concluded that for the bottom two-fifths of the population all of the gains from the previous two decades have been wiped out in less than four years. The poorest fifth lost 8 percent, and the top fifth gained 9 percent—amounting to a \$25 billion transfer from the lower income ranks to the rich. Blacks declined not only relatively but absolutely. The "middle class" (or at least middle quintile) at best stagnated with a 1 percent increase in income.

The shifts in portion of national income received by each fifth, or quintile, of the population may not seem large (see accompanying chart). But these statistics normally change very slowly. In a few years under Reagan, the income distribution has returned to roughly what it was in the late '40s—a dramatic transformation.

Much of that has been a "Robin Hood in reverse" transfer. Poor people's programs have been cut, and rich people have received tax breaks. Social programs have been savaged, and military spending, which disproportionately favors not only the wealthy but higher-paid engineers and professionals, boomed.

But the rich have benefitted in a much less noticed fashion. Large financial institutions and wealthy individuals are the principal purchasers of Treasury notes and bonds. Consequently, they are the immediate beneficiaries of the high interest payments on the burgeoning federal debt. Increases in interest payments since Reagan took office amount to far more than all of the supposed savings resulting from administration cuts in health, education, welfare and social service programs, as Robert Pear reported in the *New York Times*. Reagan did not cut the federal budget; he simply eliminated payments for the poor, for education, for

**Over fiscal years 1982-85, programs for low-income people were cut by \$57 billion, twice as deeply as social programs not targeted to the poor.**



nutrition, for job training and many other programs and paid that money—and more—in interest on new debt to the rich.

"Because of underlying economic and demographic trends, some of this widening would have taken place regardless of who was president," *The Reagan Record* argues. "But the particular tax and benefit reductions that President Reagan supported exacerbated the trend. His policies helped the affluent but were detrimental to the poor and middle class."

**Missing middle.**

Sociologist Stephen G. Rose recently updated his popular and provocative poster on "Social Stratification in the U.S." (available with background booklet from Social Graphics, 1120 Riverside Ave., Baltimore, MD 21230 for \$9) and also concluded that there is a "declining middle." Using Bureau of Labor Statistics standard budgets, he found that the pro-

Income Distribution in the U.S.

U.S. population in quintiles	Total percent of income received		Change	Comparison of 1983 to past percentages
	1978	1983		
(Top 5%)	(15.6)	(16.0)	(+ 0.4)	
5/5	41.5	42.7	+ 1.2	Highest percentage since 1950
4/5	24.1	24.4	+ 0.3	Highest percentage since 1947
3/5	17.5	17.1	- 0.4	Lowest Percentage since 1947
2/5	11.6	11.1	- 0.5	Lowest percentage on record
1/5	5.2	4.7	- 0.5	Lowest percentage since 1961

Source: Bureau of the Census



portion of the population between the poverty line and the "low budget" increased from roughly 15 percent in 1978 to 25 percent in 1983. The fraction between low and medium budgets dropped from 25 to 20 percent; those between medium and high dropped from 30 to 20 percent and above the high budget rose from roughly 15 to 20 percent. Thus, he concludes the "middle class" as far as income and consumption are concerned shifted over those five years from 55 percent of the population to 40 percent.

The "missing middle" has become a controversy that goes beyond the immediate impact of Reagan's tax and budget policies. Some liberal and left economists argue that the U.S. is going through a process of "deindustrialization" that is wiping out many of the better-paid, unionized manufacturing jobs. The new jobs are primarily lower-pay service jobs or highly-paid professional, technical and managerial jobs.

Manufacturing jobs are important because they generally offer greater possibilities for increases in productivity than other work, thus making it possible for unions to capture some part of that and for workers to enjoy more comfortable levels of consumption. Manufacturing also tends to generate more jobs in other fields compared to other sectors.

Manufacturing industries are major consumers of not only much of the new high technology, such as robots or computer-aided design and production, but also of many of the new services (information, financial, marketing and repairs, for example). As a bulwark of the middle ranks, decently-paid manufacturing jobs are important to sustain markets for many goods—homes, autos, appliances, to name a few. Unions through their collective bargaining but also through legislative action raise other workers' incomes and generally reduce inequality, as Richard Freeman and James Medoff demonstrate in their new book, *What Do Unions Do?* Industrial unions have been the heart of the labor movement and the push toward equality.

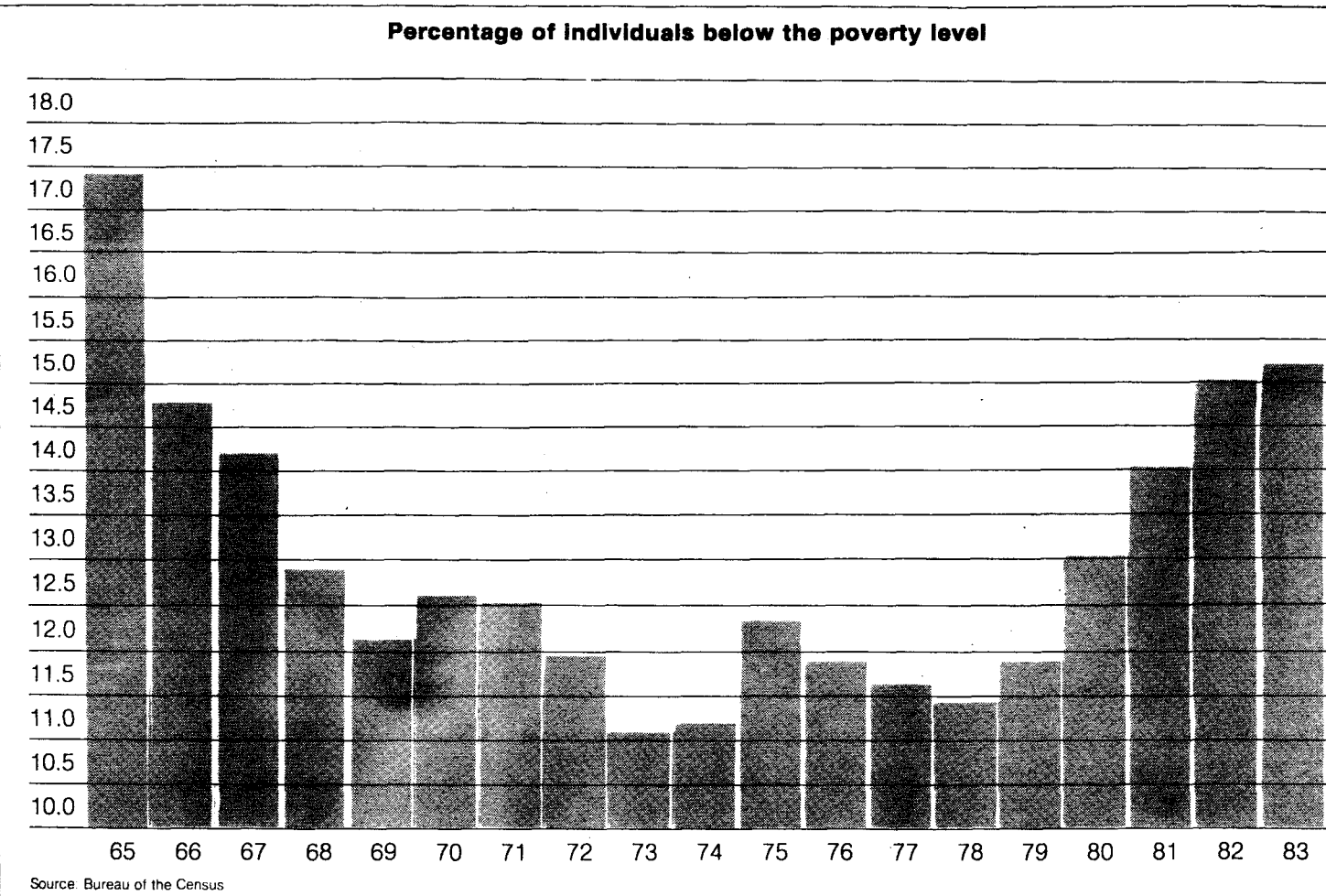
The share of manufacturing in total U.S. employment has plummeted by more than 25 percent since 1965, far greater than the decline in countries such as France and Germany. Brookings Institution economist Robert Z. Lawrence counters that employment and hours in U.S. manufacturing in absolute terms increased slightly during the '70s but in any case faster than in Europe or Japan, and only Japan exceeded the U.S. increases in manufacturing output.

But economists Barry Bluestone, Bennett Harrison and Lucy Gorham, in a recent report, *Storm Clouds on the Horizon*, argue that there was a net 5 percent decline of production workers in manufacturing from 1973 to 1980. The tiny increase in overall manufacturing employment consisted of supervisory and managerial workers, a tendency blamed by economists Samuel Bowles, Richard Gordon and Thomas Weisskopf as one of the main causes of recent productivity problems.

Analyzing Bureau of Labor Statistics data and forecasts, Bluestone and his colleagues found support for the fear that solid middle-income jobs are on the decline. From 1969 to 1982 "the sectors experiencing the greatest net growth were those which, in 1980 at least, paid the lowest average wages," they wrote.

"Specifically, 63 percent of the net new jobs were in industries whose 1980 average annual wage was less than \$12,500. And for the set of industries paying an average wage of \$22,000 or more, there was virtually no net growth at all during the period." The forecasts show more of the same, possibly accentuated, they said. Fifteen of the 21 low-paying industries were in services; 16 of the 18 highest wage and slowest-growing industries were in manufacturing.

Service industries as well as many of the newer high-technology fields tend to have a pay pattern that reflects the declining middle: jobs are concentrated in low-skill, low-pay slots or in skilled, educated, high-pay positions. Although it has been increasingly difficult over the years to move from laborer to craftsman



to manager, now the gulf in the segmented labor market is even greater. Bluestone, Harrison and Gorham warn that some experts fail to count among the "dislocated" workers the former steelworker working in McDonald's, since he has a job. But he is still dislocated, they argue, and the numbers are not insignificant: nearly 900,000 jobs a year were lost from 1978 to 1982 as a result of plant closings. Even Lawrence admits regional shifts of employment have accelerated.

Skeptics of the "declining middle" argue that any problems simply reflect sluggish overall demand. They predict that service employment growth will probably taper off, young workers will grow older and automatically make more (the baby boom goes middle-aged and middle-class), and service wages will grow as productivity increases and unionism spreads.

### Two threats.

Such forecasts do not understand how drastically the economy has changed. Even if any of these forces still worked to raise wages—and that is doubtful—workers who succeed in boosting their pay will face two ominous and growing threats. First, it is increasingly easy and commonplace to shift all but the highly skilled, managerial and professional work overseas to take advantage of lower wages. Or it is increasingly easy and economical to replace high-wage workers with robots, computers and other new automated technologies.

Much of the current loss of middle-income jobs, Bluestone, Harrison and Gorham report, stems from productivity improvements. The capital spending surge accompanying this recovery is going almost entirely to new equipment that will displace workers, not to new factories and offices that will employ them.

**The most decisive factor in the ascendancy of the right is that lower-income people have been less and less likely than upper-income people to vote.**

Unionism, which is supposed to save middle-class jobs (even though the same conservative writers deplore existing industrial unions) has been dealt serious blows by Reagan. The budget cuts indirectly—and often directly, such as prohibiting food stamps for strikers—weakens organized workers; breaking PATCO gave the green light to generalized union-bashing; the recession intensified give-back pressures; and competition for jobs undermines solidarity. Greater inequality weakens the unions, and weakening the unions heightens inequality. The trend to two-tier wage policies and the break-up of standard industry contracts are simply two manifestations of this new inegalitarianism.

Unabashed apologetics for inequality now are increasingly commonplace. It was Reaganite common sense that the poor could only be motivated by greater poverty, and the rich motivated only by greater riches. It has now become widely accepted that workers are all paid too much and that the cure for economic ills is to tax capital, that is, wealth, much more lightly. If Reagan wins again, it is likely that a new, regressive tax—such as a national sales or value-added tax—will be imposed. Also, with the new religious crusade to reduce the deficit, there is widespread talk of the need to slash "middle-class" benefits, like Social Security.

A simple inversion of this new common nonsense would not be a bad start. But beyond reclaiming equality as a traditional American ideal and arguing for its moral merit, the left can—and must—take on the seemingly practical argument that inequality is more efficient. Beyond its own merits, equality is also essential for both democracy and liberty, if those are not seen as privileges of an elite.

In *The New Politics of Inequality*, Washington Post reporter Edsall argues that the Republican Party has increasingly become a coherent, conservative force for corporations and the rich while the Democrats have been mired in confusion. Although the Democratic base is increasingly poor, the poor have tended to vote less and less. Middle-class procedural reformers with no ties to labor or the poor have gained ascendancy.

Conservative Southern Democrats have moved even more to the right to combat the Republican challenge. And Democrats as a whole have pandered to the rich and corporations in a bid for campaign money to pay for television reelection ads, while pitching their policies to middle and upper income voters who come to the polls. Despite the class polarization initiated by the Republicans, with the blissful acquiescence of many Democrats, the Democratic Party is unable and unwilling to be a class-conscious party on behalf of its natural constituency—in part because that constituency doesn't

turn out to the polls and can't pay for TV, Edsall argues.

Having neglected its organizing mission and having tried to be friends with the big corporations, the labor movement declined in numbers. As a result, Edsall writes, it lost political clout, even in Democratic ranks, although that is slowly being turned around. He might have added that its own history of Cold War anti-Communism and general hostility to socialist ideas undermined its ability to set a clear alternative agenda for domestic debate, alienated much of the intelligentsia and new working class over its support for the Vietnam war and related militarism, and also bolstered the conservative political establishment that is now kicking labor in the teeth. But a comparison with other industrial countries make it clear that strong union is correlated with lower unemployment, greater equity and more social security.

Yet the most decisive factor in the ascendancy of the right, Edsall argues, is that lower-income people have been less and less likely than upper-income people to vote: roughly 40 percent of those under \$5,000 voted in 1980, 55 percent of those making \$10-15,000 and 80 percent of those making \$25,000 or more. There are many reasons, but at least one goes back to the character and policy of the Democratic Party: it simply does not speak to and for those people in clear, convincing terms.

Mondale's campaign is already a case in point. Having abandoned—virtually repudiated—Jesse Jackson's partially successful campaign to win over those much-needed votes of the poor, having apparently rejected a hard-hitting, populist campaign in favor of "statesmanship" and an appeal to traditional values, Mondale can only hope that low-income voters will be sufficiently mad at Reagan that they will ignore everything he says.

It is certainly clear that Mondale is not trying to set a new agenda. Even though he may "smoke out" Reagan plans to raise taxes—and suggest how they will exacerbate the growing inequality—his acceptance of the deficit as the central problem means that he will be offering little relief to those who have already been robbed.

The logical political response of the Democrats would be to forge an alliance of those low- and middle-income segments of the working class with the liberal and left segments of the professionals, technicians and small business owners who may or may not be suffering as much under Reagan but have other reasons—a sense of justice, concern for peace, environmentalism or a desire for a more rational society—to reject the right-wing agenda.

But logic is likely to carry little weight. The new politics—and economics—of inequality may be with us for some time. ■



# Reagan

Continued from page 3  
the Republican Party.

The COS members, led by Gingrich, current chair Vin Weber (MN) and Robert Walker (PA), are from the congressional class of 1978 and 1980. On many issues they are aligned with the new right. They are concerned about building a conservative majority in Congress and believe that both the Main Street and old right Republican leadership is incapable of doing so, because of their defeatist attitude and their compromised politics.

But the COS members are loyal Republicans, uninterested in third parties. Their background is not in the old right or the Goldwater movement, but the post-Ford Republican Party. They don't share the old and new right's kneejerk opposition to government. In certain respects, they are closer to neo-liberal Democrats than

to the new or old right.

In the House the COS' first priority has been challenging Democratic Speaker Tip O'Neill's control of the legislative calendar. Maintaining that a popular majority exists for such issues as school prayer and the balanced budget amendment, Weber has stated, "Our job is to show the public that these issues are being kept off the legislative agenda for one reason only—because the Democratic majority doesn't want them debated and voted on."

The COS' battles with O'Neill have attracted considerable attention. But it also has a broader philosophical agenda, most clearly enunciated in former history professor Gingrich's new book *Window of Opportunity*. Gingrich and the other COS members have been influenced by the same post-industrial futurists who have impressed Sen. Gary Hart (D-CO) and other Democrats. The featured speaker at the COS' October conference was John Naisbitt, author of *Megatrends* and an important influence on Hart.

Gingrich contends that the U.S. "is on

the edge of three great revolutions that will transform the world—computer and information sciences, biology and space." He warns that if American politicians fail to adapt to this "great white-water river of change," the U.S. will "sink in this river of change."

He believes that in order to adapt, the U.S. will have to abandon both corporate and governmental centralization and adopt a much more decentralized system of government and economy. Some of his proposals are the same as those advanced by neo-liberals. Gingrich favors worker participation in management and also commends the Machinists' agreement with Eastern Airlines and the United Auto Workers' agreements with Chrysler and Ford. He even advocates as a transitional measure a "gigantic" government program of worker retraining.

But serious contradictions run through Gingrich's thinking. He doesn't understand that computerization is increasing corporate centralization. It has already elevated a new type of parasite, "the money manager," to a position of prev-

iously unheard-of influence and power. Gingrich waxes poetic on how the new piece-work and home-work systems made possible by home use of computers will decentralize the economy, but he fails to recognize that these systems decentralize (and reduce the power of) workers and increase the centralization of management.

Gingrich also believes that post-industrial society will reinforce rather than subvert the traditional American values of family, neighborhood, faith, thrift and hard work—a claim hardly borne out by the drift of the last decades.

But the young House conservatives are at least posing the question of what effect computerization will have on our society. Democrats like Walter Mondale and Republicans like Reagan appear oblivious to such concerns. Moreover, in the Republican Party the young conservatives are filling a gap left by the melting of the old right and the sectarian drift of the new. It was no accident that Weber and Gingrich's strident protests forced the Republican Platform Committee to accept planks opposing tax increases and supporting the gold standard and the flat tax.

## Presidential choices.

Each faction does not necessarily have its own presidential candidate. The candidates who currently look the most promising—Bush and Kemp—do so because they span different factions, just as Reagan did. Bush has considerable support among some segments of the old right and Main Street Republicans and would probably have Reagan's endorsement.

Kemp has support in the old right and is the preferred candidate of the new right and the young House conservatives.

Lehrman, a new right hopeful, will probably not be able to run unless Reagan appoints him to a high cabinet post.

The new right leaders do not regard Bush as a "conservative," even though his roots in the old right are as deep as Reagan's. (In the aftermath of the Goldwater defeat in 1964, *National Review* asked two rising conservatives—Bush and Reagan—to reflect on the future.) They believe Bush would lose the Wallace Democrats.

But both the new right and COS members have their doubts about whether Kemp would be able to defeat the highly organized Bush. They see in his failure to run for the Senate or governorship in New York evidence of excessive caution and even political cowardice. At this time, however, Kemp would seem the more likely candidate to arouse the enthusiasm of the same Republican rank and file that propelled Reagan to the nomination in 1980.

But the future of the Republican Party may not lie in the hands of its factions, but in the palsied grip of the Democrats. If the Democratic Party cannot find a way to unite Jesse Jackson's blacks, white ethnics and Southern whites, and Hart's young middle class, the Republicans will have difficulty not assembling a majority coalition of Republicans with white Democrats resentful of black or labor dominance of the Democratic Party.

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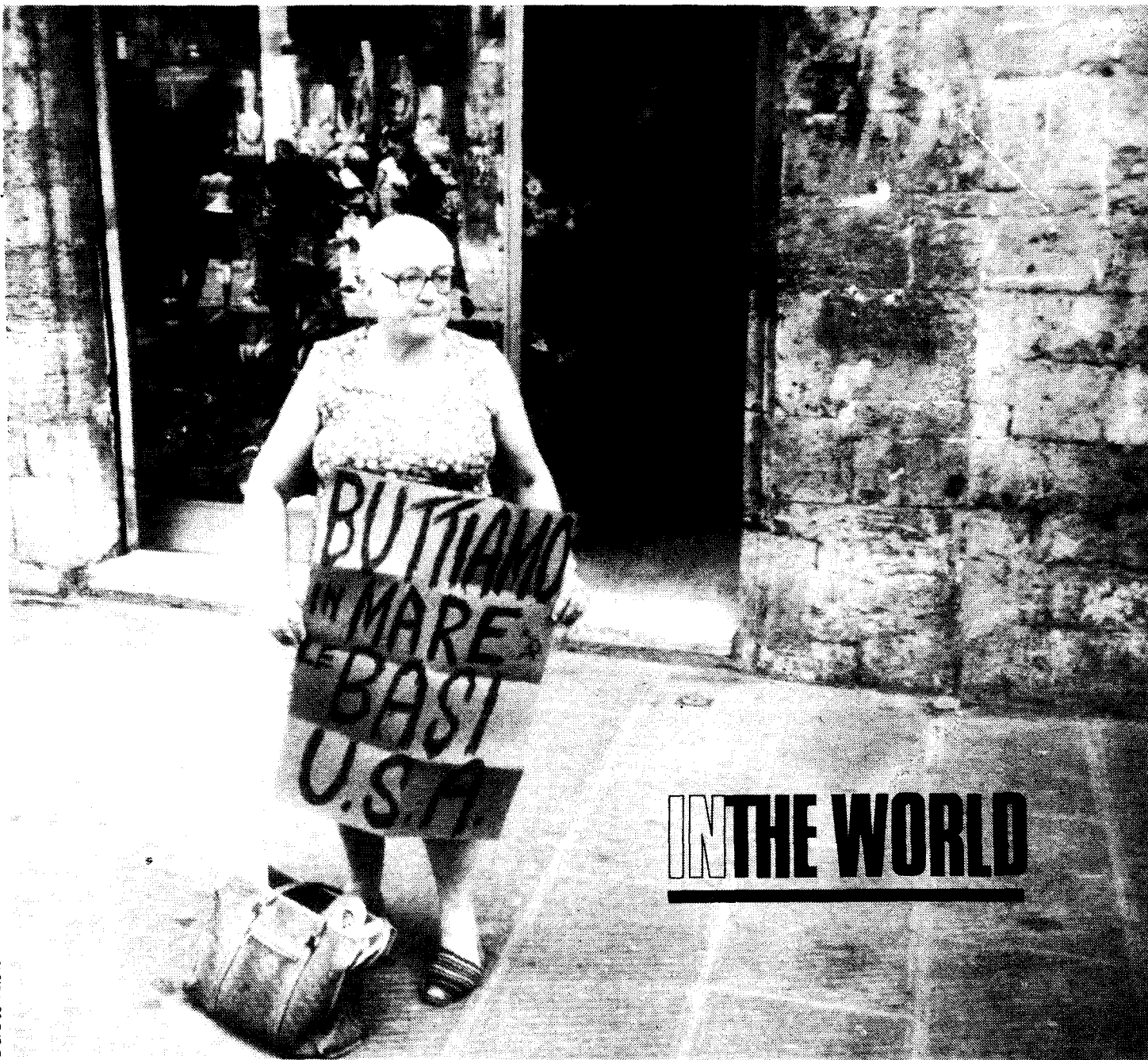
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- Edward Said, author *Question of Palestine*
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A Perugia citizen holds a placard reading, "Let's throw the U.S. bases into the sea."

## DISARMAMENT

# Is the European peace movement a dead END?

By Diana Johnstone

PERUGIA, ITALY

**H**AS THE EUROPEAN PEACE movement unwittingly played into the hands of those who are working feverishly to turn Western Europe into a nuclear superpower? By harping on Europe's specific security interests in opposition to the U.S. and Soviet Union, has the anti-Euromissile movement inadvertently provided the ideological foundations for a new "West European Reich"?

This provocative question was raised by Roland Vogt, Green member of the West German Bundestag's defense committee last month at the third annual European Nuclear Disarmament (END) convention. Vogt alerted the peace activists gathered here to the arms buildup being prepared by the grouping of NATO core governments—Britain, West Germany, France, Italy and the Benelux states—called the Western European Union (WEU). Few people are aware that the council of WEU foreign ministers that met in Paris on June 28 agreed to lift the last of the postwar restrictions on West German military production in conventional fields—other than nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. West German firms such as Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm are now free to go ahead with production of strategic bombers and long-range missiles, and various deals for joint Western missile production are already on the boards.

Vogt, who with Petra Kelly represents the Greens on the WEU's consultative

assembly, observed that the WEU is the favorite forum of the strategists of European militarism. The group leaves open the question of whether the arms buildup is meant to "strengthen the European pillar of NATO," as the phrase goes these days, or if the aim is to create the nucleus of an independent West European military power. This ambiguity enables German leaders to stress their loyalty to NATO and French orators to proclaim "independence from the two superpowers" while doing the same thing: expanding military production. Vogt pointed out that the rapid growth of a strong German component in a West European military-industrial complex was bound to accelerate the arms race, both in the Third World, whose military leaders will want to buy the latest German-made high tech weapons, and in the Eastern bloc, where fear of German militarism is the surest stimulus to Russian militarism.

The WEU can also be used as a bridge to end the longstanding division of labor between the European Community (EC), concerned with economic matters, and NATO, a military alliance. The WEU has the advantage of leaving out troublesome little countries like Denmark, Greece and Ireland, who might raise objections. The seven WEU countries, he said, "are taking on the peacemaker role for the transformation of the civilian European Community into a highly armed and militarized Western European superpower. This can mean the founding of a new Reich analogous to Bismarck's. At present it seems that France is trying to take on the role played by Prussia in the founding of Bismarck's Reich."

Vogt, mild in his manner as befits a

pacifist, was deliberately trying to shock the French into paying attention to this problem by using the word "Reich" in all languages and comparing *la belle France* to its historic enemy, Prussia. He did not immediately succeed. The French delegates to the Perugia conference were almost entirely absorbed in the controversy over relations with Eastern Europe. Indeed, most of the 1,200 peace activists from all over the world were not even aware of Vogt's workshop on the WEU or of the problem he was raising. Apparently stung by criticism that last year's convention in West Berlin was too organized to suit the temperament of most peace activists, the liaison committee underorganized this one. In the confusion, only the most resolute voices could make themselves heard, and the theme that dominated was the most immediately dramatic, the most controversial, the most appealing to the press: East-West relations.

Officially, the Perugia convention was supposed to deal with three themes: movement strategy after the failure to stop Euromissile deployment, the Mediterranean and the "North-South" dimension of the nuclear arms race and, finally, "dialog" with other peace movements (not only in Eastern Europe but also in America and the Pacific area) and with the non-aligned and Third World liberation movements. But the "East-West" problems overshadowed all the rest.

### Unwitting agents.

Two movement stars, Mient Jan Faber of Holland and Mary Kaldor of Britain, is—

*Continued on the following page*

**Claimed Green member Roland Vogt: "We did not manage to bring out the politics of nuclear weapons."**

## Conversion is still an uphill battle

Growing interest among trade unionists in converting military industries to peaceful uses was probably the most encouraging trend visible at the Perugia convention. But it must be seen as an uphill battle against the much more powerful movement in the opposite direction. Gigi Pannozzo of the big Italian metalworkers federation FLM acknowledged that "a growing number of firms not traditionally involved in war production are introducing manufacture of military devices, or parts of them, to fill production gaps left by the recession and above all in response to prospects of profits linked to programs for modernizing conventional arsenals."

Peter Hug of the Swiss Peace Council warned that an arms buildup in the framework of the revived Western European Union (WEU) would further strengthen the "military-bureaucratic-scientific-industrial complex." Hug noted that the peace movement bore the "heavy responsibility" of having provided attractive excuses for this "Europeanization," but sees hope in labor unions' striving for industrial conversion to production geared to human needs, not to war.

Trade unionists have held two important international conversion conferences, in West Berlin in May 1983 and in Boston last June. Pannozzo called for a follow-up to the Boston conference in Europe, and also for creation of a work group on conversion made up of unionists from both Eastern and Western Europe. Such a concrete focus might well be the most constructive approach to the East-West dialog problem.

Ron Todd, the newly elected general secretary of the British Transport and General Workers Union, the biggest in the U.K. and in British defense industry, brought to Perugia the cheering news that the British trade union movement is about to put into practice "a comprehensive and detailed strategy for arms conversion." Its starting point will be "the creativity which exists on the shop floor." Inspiration comes from the example of the alternative product ideas developed by employees at Lucas Aerospace.

"A national conversion steering committee has now been established," Todd explained. "Local authorities are establishing their own conversion councils. Funding is being made available. University departments are being asked to help. We are making conversion a central part of union education courses. And we are now taking steps to set up the first Alternative Use Committee in defense workplaces, committees which will draw up plans for the conversion of that workplace to peaceful, socially useful production." The British Trade Union Confederation is about to launch a national debate on defense spending and conversion, and a detailed conversion program will be brought to the British Labor Party conference in September.

Todd is convinced that people do not like making weapons of war, but usually believe they have no choice. Conversion, he says, is about giving workers an opportunity to do something else.

"There is a real prospect of concrete, tangible progress in the next few months," he said. "No longer are we picketing outside the factory gates talking at defense workers. We are sitting down with them, talking with them and planning with them concrete alternatives to the arms race."

But others cautioned against trying to solve the problem shop by shop. Some industries can be converted to peaceful production, others cannot. The point is to make alternative jobs available, one place or another. "We mustn't stick too closely to the workplace," one British trade unionist stressed during workshop debate. "After all, capitalism is always converting everything, shutting down some factories and starting up new ones."

—D.J.



Continued from previous page  
sued a joint paper on "Ending the Occupation of Europe: the only way to save detente." The campaign against cruise and Pershing II missiles was very successful in raising consciousness about the danger of nuclear war, they said. "But we did not manage to bring out the politics of nuclear weapons. And by failing to do so, we may have become unwitting agents in the new Cold War. By emphasizing first strike and counterforce capabilities and the Reaganite aim of nuclear superiority, we may have given the Soviet establishment an argument to justify their own armament buildup. We ought to have exposed the role of nuclear weapons as instruments of social control. What we need to do now is to raise consciousness about the political future of Europe," they concluded.

Faber and Kaldor called for "a wide-ranging discussion throughout Europe about the nature of our occupied status" and how to end it. "We cannot sustain a peace movement on the basis of fear: indeed fear of nuclear war can be counterproductive," they said. "Fear of nuclear war is a way of traumatizing people into submission: it is, in itself, an element of occupation."

In contrast, Vogt raised the question of "whether the people of the peace movement think that things will turn out better merely through the fact that Europeans take control over certain military systems." The peace movement was right to warn of the dangers that American military strategy posed to Europe, he said.

"But we have set up a situation where the specious conclusion being drawn is that everything must be better when it's European. So the key word now is 'Europeanization.'"

"And my question," said Vogt, "is: what's the difference between the U.S. Americans and the Europeans? There is only a difference in degree. Europeans are exploitative, they waste raw materials obtained through unequal treaties from Third World countries. Historically, the majority of U.S. citizens are transplanted Europeans, who have transferred the European approach to another part of the globe. Now if the Europeans, who are the mother continent, take over mass destruction weapons from the U.S. Americans, I don't see a substantial fundamental difference."

Most END leaders seem to feel that to be more "political," they need to tackle the East-West problem head on. E.P. Thompson in particular got END into the business of "contacts" and "dialog" with Eastern European peace movements on the basis of an undeniably accurate political observation: the Eastern European human rights situation is a serious problem to Western European peace movements because it provides the best reason for Western Europeans to fear Soviet military power and thus accept military buildups in their own countries. By acknowledging this problem, Western peace movement leaders have hoped to improve their credibility at home. Criticism of Soviet repression, contacts—even frustrated—with Eastern dissidents or peace groups trying to operate outside of-

ficial structures are held up as proof that Western peace activists are not Moscow's stooges.

There are dangers in concern with politically smart "appearances." After the favorable media coverage, then what? Changing the system in the Eastern bloc seems an even more difficult task for the Western peace movements than changing their own.

Organizers invited both the official Soviet-bloc Peace Councils and the "independents" to Perugia. There was hope that being polite to the "officials" might loosen things up for the "unofficials." But of the "unofficials," only a few Hungarian independents showed up. Some Polish and East German exiles attended, and there were letters from Polish *Solidarnosc* (very critical of the Western peace movement) and the Czechoslovakian civil rights group Charter 77 (less critical).

The official Peace Councils sent delegates who had to listen to a great deal of protest. The opening program was interrupted by a demonstration protesting Eastern European authorities' muzzling of 59 invited independents who were unable to come. This set off the controversy over "dialog with the East" that continued throughout the convention, dividing participants according to temperament and analysis. Most were situated somewhere between the Danish woman who objected that it was "not polite" to demonstrate against invited guests (the Russians) and the young French woman who vehemently denounced any conversation with the Soviet "assassins and

torturers."

Although the French nuclear disarmament committee CODENE is almost invisible in the battle against French and other nuclear arsenals and seems oblivious to the French role in reviving the WEU as the nucleus of a European superpower, it played a leading role in drafting a statement "Beyond Yalta" meant to provide a common platform for Western peace movements and Eastern European movements like *Solidarnosc*.

### Crippling itself?

One may wonder how politically astute it is to concentrate the peace movement's attention on a problem it cannot possibly solve, and to accept its opponents' contention that the credibility of peace movements in the West depends on human rights liberalization in the East. The movement could wind up crippling itself. West German theologian Dorothee Solle said that, on the contrary, the West as the richest, most advanced and most free part of the world should take the lead in building a social model. "What is the use of being freer if we don't work for peace?" she demanded.

There is the matter of timing. In Perugia, the peace movement was tackling the Eastern problem while most sectors were still far from having worked out enough of an analysis or a strategy to know what they had to propose to Eastern Europeans, either official or unofficial. For one thing, approaches will differ to the extent that the East-West conflict is seen as the basic cause of the arms race, or, on the contrary, as the pretext for a military might that preserves Soviet dominance in the Eastern bloc and American and European dominance over most of the Third World.

Jo Leinen, chairman of the West German peace movement coordinating committee, said he thought the END liaison committee members themselves had been a bit "seduced by the excitement" of the East-West question. He observed that the issue created divisions and distrust within the peace movement, had little to do with grassroots peace work and prevented using Perugia to coordinate strategy and action. "We are losing one year, when there are very urgent discussions needed, such as on the Western European Union question," he said. The WEU is "constructing new military systems, getting a whole political and military infrastructure together, and we can't afford the luxury of changing subjects."

Thus few people in Perugia heard Vogt's call for a peace movement colloquium in Rome, to be held when the WEU defense ministers meet there in late October. Vogt predicts that the WEU arms buildup will cause a split in the peace movement. While in the past Social Democrats always showed opposition to military projects, "nowadays nobody dares to vote against them. And that has to do with the fact that they are discussed under the pretext of contributing to European independence."

However, the split, if there is one, does not seem to correspond with party lines. Leinen, a Social Democrat, would also give priority to the WEU issue, whereas the leader of the successful effort to make East-West relations the dominant issue in Perugia was Dieter Esche of the West Berlin Green-Alternative List.

In Perugia, Social Democrats from Germany and Scandinavia along with British Laborites tended to champion polite relations with official peace councils, that is, "detente from above," while some more radical currents sought to promote "detente from below," meaning contacts with forces independent of or in opposition to the Eastern regimes.

Leinen took a calm, long-range view of these differences. The Greens, he noted, do not yet have an *Ostpolitik*, an Eastern European policy of their own, and are experimenting. As most of them come from movements, they see the world in terms of movements and think they should find movements everywhere. They are learning from experience. Leinen is convinced that by the end of the century, West Germany will have a Social Democratic-Green coalition government, and everything going on meanwhile in the peace movement helps form the political program for that eventual coalition.

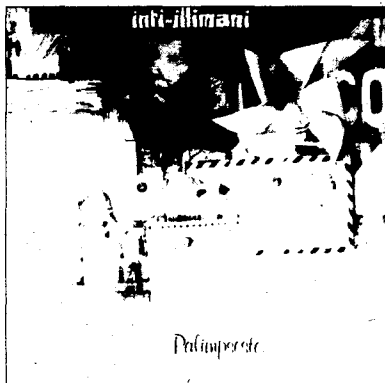
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# Army destroys then rebuilds

By Chris Norton

## GUATEMALAN HIGHLANDS

**T**WO AND A HALF YEARS AGO guerrillas dominated large portions of the spectacularly beautiful, pine-covered mountains of northern Guatemala. But today these Indian highlands are quiet. After a wave of bloody army offensives that may have claimed 20,000 lives in 1982, whole portions of the countryside are depopulated.

The army wiped out whole villages suspected of guerrilla sympathies. Indians who fled into the mountains were hunted down. The survivors, some who hid in the mountains for two years, now live in army-controlled strategic hamlets. The army calls them "model villages."

The destruction cannot be seen by the casual observer. The most devastated areas are accessible only by foot because the guerrillas made their base in remote Indian communities. And the Guatemalan military, well-read in Mao, decided to remove the sea from the fish.

A ring of destruction surrounds the three towns that make up the Ixil Triangle—a former bastion of the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP). The EGP used to be the largest of the guerrilla organizations, before the ruthless army offensives wiped out and dislocated its civilian base.

Most of the villages around the Ixil towns of Nebaj, Chajul and San Juan Cotzal are still abandoned. Their surviving inhabitants live in refugee camps waiting for the army to relocate them to "model villages" the army is now constructing.

The army describes this as the "consolidation phase" of its counterinsurgency war—the rebuilding of what it destroyed—and proudly presents its plans for establishing four "poles of development." The Nebaj area is one—the army has plans for 40 "model villages"—in the region of heaviest conflict.

Even where the army is not constructing "model villages" the theme is the same—forced concentration of the Indian population, which traditionally lives dispersed in the middle of small cornfields. The difference is between maximum and minimum security prisons.

This massive restructuring of the countryside is based on classic counterinsurgency theory as successfully applied by the British against the Malaysian insurgency and with less success by the U.S. in Vietnam.

One of the Guatemalan colonels in charge of the program acknowledged that the strategy uses "the same concept as in Vietnam." But he hastened to point out that the policy failed in Vietnam because it was imposed from abroad and hence "wasn't accepted by the people." In contrast, the Guatemalan army uses the rhetoric of nationalism and developmentalism. The army-imposed civil patrols always carry Guatemala's blue and white flag and crudely lettered signs on the side of the road declare Guatemala the land of "peace and development."

Also distinct from Vietnam, where the army was a weak organization of former collaborators with the French, Guatemala's army has been the country's dominant institution for much of the 20th century. Having fought a guerrilla insurgency since the early '60s, Guatemala's army is the most experienced in counterinsurgency in Central America. It has developed a sophisticated strategy integrating the counterinsurgency experience and training of Israel, Argentina, Taiwan, South Africa and South Korea.

### The role of "self-defense."

In addition to concentrating the population, establishing "civil self-defense patrols" is a key army strategy. All men between the ages of 18 and

from 12 hours once a month in larger towns to 24 hours once a week in more remote areas.

The obligatory patrols seriously weaken the campesinos, who often are too tired after all-night guard duty to work the next day. In many parts of the country the patrols have diminished food production, already damaged by the army-induced dislocations. In some target areas the army has stepped in with a "food for work" program—displaced persons get food instead of pay for working in public works projects. Those displaced by the army's violence are thus dependent on it for survival.

The army says that the people requested patrols for protection from guerrillas. Yet those who decline to participate can be jailed or worse. Ostensibly, the patrols are for defense, but many patrols carry only sticks or machetes, and those that are armed have only shotguns or rifles. None would be effective against guerrillas armed with automatic weapons.

The patrols are supposed to scrutinize everyone entering and leaving every rural community. In addition, "with the patrols you have a control on every able-bodied man in an area," says an American priest with two decades of experience in the Guatemalan highlands. "He has to report and they know if he shows up or not. It have very little to do with defense."

The patrols are also used to disrupt Indian communities, according to numerous sources. In one case, near the famous tourist town of Chichicastenango, the army presented patrol leaders with a list of five Indians it said were "communists." The leaders were told that they had until five the next morning to execute the men or the army would destroy the whole village. After an all-night meeting the community decided that it had to go ahead and kill the men.

The army also encourages the spread of born-again evangelical Protestant sects, which, with their emphasis on individual salvation, pose less of a threat to the government than the Catholic Church. Influenced by liberation theology and more committed to social justice and collective action to achieve it, Catholics are perceived by many in the army as "subversive." The Church and especially its lay leaders are hit hard by army repression.

Some very conservative Protestant sects, such as the Nazarenes and the Assemblies of God, have cozy relationships with the military. Protestants are often appointed as military commissioners and some evangelical groups boast that membership in their church can help in dealings with the authorities.

The army claims that it is concentrating the population "to provide it with social services" unavailable to a more dispersed population. But numerous religious sources say that forced urbanization has brought increased disease and social disintegration. Incidence of alcoholism, marital disputes and rape have all increased and parents take less responsibility for their children, said these sources.

Rabinal, Baja Verapaz, exemplifies the problems the army's restructuring has brought. Rabinal was devastated by army massacres beginning in 1979. These massacres left 4,000 widows in a population of 27,000. Rabinal is reached by an hour and a half bus ride on a dirt road that hugs a steep mountainside. Most residents lived on tiny plots of land scattered on the steep hillsides surrounding the town.

The small size of their plots and the poor soil forced many Indians to migrate to the south coast during harvest times to augment their income. The Indians of Rabinal have traditionally been rebellious, and the combination of their poverty, Church consciousness raising and exposure to radical organizing by the Committee of Campesino Unity (CUC) helped the EGP guerrillas find support



there. In September 1981 the guerrillas, probably aided by many of the locals, burned all the bridges leading into town. Within a week, a paramilitary group connected with the army attacked people in the plaza, killing 20. The army built a military base in Rabinal and the attacks on catechists and health and education promoters increased. The army also started a steady stream of massacres at outlying villages thought to be guerrilla-dominated.

### Guerrilla mistakes.

The guerrillas were badly hurt by the army's offensive of 1982 and 1983, especially the EGP (the Guerrilla Army of the Poor), formerly the largest of the four major groups. After patient work in building a strong base in the Indian highlands during the '70s, the EGP expanded too rapidly in 1981 and 1982, trying to consolidate areas they couldn't defend



**The army enters the consolidation phase of the counterinsurgency war and proudly presents its plan for establishing four "poles of development."**

IN THESE TIMES AUG. 22-SEPT. 4, 1984 11 when the army accelerated its offensive after the March 1982 coup that brought Rios Montt to power.

Even people sympathetic to the EGP are critical of its triumphalism, which caused them to misread their strength and pressure Indian villages to commit themselves, promising that they would defeat the army in six months to a year if everybody fought together. Yet when the army took brutal reprisals against villages that had constructed booby traps or otherwise sided with the guerrillas, the EGP was unable—and some charge unwilling—to defend them.

"They wanted to do in four years what would have taken 10 or 15 years," said one source. "They provoked many massacres by the army. Now, the whole process has been set back about 10 years. The guerrilla units are still intact but the people are not willing to cooperate anymore. It will be very difficult to gain the confidence of the people again." The whole experience has apparently provoked a split in the EGP with some members charging the organization had manipulated religion and had not given the Indian leadership sufficient authority.

The other guerrilla organizations, however, weren't as affected as the EGP. ORPA (Organization of the People in Arms) and FAR (Rebel Armed Forces) both recruit secretly instead of enlisting whole villages that can be wiped out by the army.

ORPA operates in its traditional area, the finca-filled foothills between the highlands and the coastal plain. It has given the army problems around Cicacao, in the foothills near Lake Atitlan, ambushing army units in March and evading the army response.

FAR—the direct descendant of the original '60s guerrilla insurgency—is active in the Peten, the northwest jungle region.

Chief of state Gen. Mejia Victores declared the day after the July 1 elections that "the subversion has ended." Yet guerrilla units, even of the hard-hit EGP, are reportedly intact and the insurgency won't go away. Different polling places in the highlands received many nullified ballots that had "EGP" or "OPRA" written on them, a surprising and dangerous show of support for the guerrillas.

*The army encourages the spread of born-again evangelical Protestant sects.*

The Guatemalan military recently allowed elections for an assembly that will write a new constitution—the first step in handing formal power back to civilians. Yet the army can now afford to turn over formal power, according to an American priest with long experience in the Guatemalan highlands, since the army has "taken over the real power bases in the countryside."

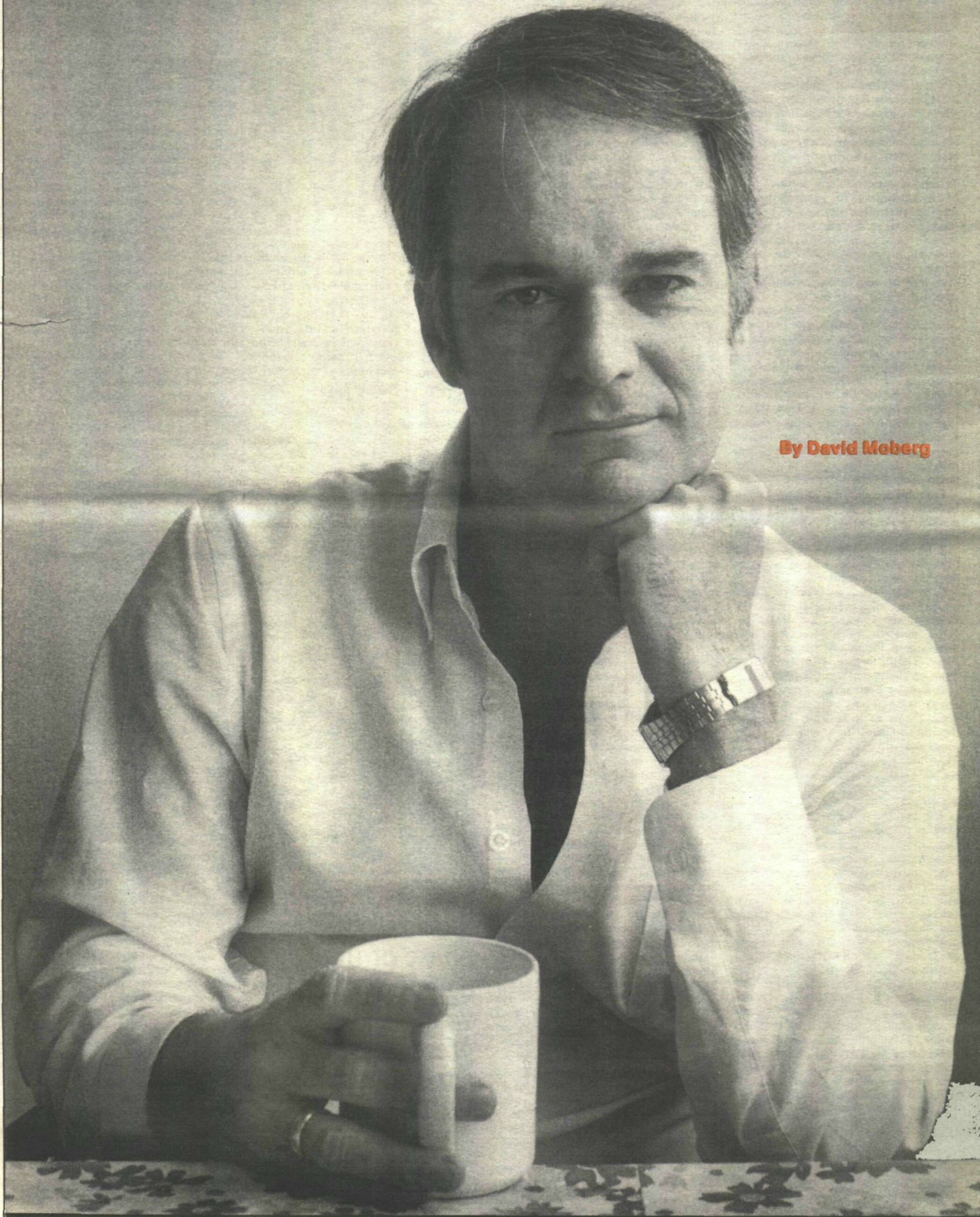
The Guatemalan army has become the super-government, transcending the political parties and the government apparatus itself. The army's restructuring of the Guatemalan highlands has set back the guerrilla insurgency. But whether the army can—or even wants to—deliver on its developmentalist rhetoric remains to be seen. Such a course would threaten the economic interests of the oligarchy and of some wealthy generals as well. Meanwhile, the social causes of the insurgency—the inequitable distribution of land and wealth, and the marginalization of the Indian population—seem unlikely to change.



# Dr. Charles Clements

DESCRIBES HIS YEAR AMONG SALVADORAN GUERRILLAS

By David Moberg





**I**T WOULD BE COMFORTING TO think that had enough members of Congress read Dr. Charles Clements' *Witness to War: An American Doctor in El Salvador* (Bantam, \$15.95) that they would not have approved an extra \$70 million aid to the government of El Salvador in early August. But that is undoubtedly an illusion. To say so is not to impugn Clements' book. Product of a military family and the Air Force Academy, Clements was a pilot in Vietnam who became disgusted with the U.S. war and tried to get out, only to be locked up in a

mental hospital by the military. Eventually he found the faith of the Quakers and the calling of medicine.

From his medical encounters with devastated refugees from El Salvador, he decided to try to serve in the country as a politically neutral "witness to peace" and "healer." Given the dangers for doctors practicing in government-controlled areas, he arranged with great difficulty to work in a guerrilla stronghold in the Guazapa region, near a volcano 40 miles north of San Salvador (and site of a recent government sweep and civilian massacre, according to reports in the *New York Times*).

For nearly a year Clements shared in and tried to lessen the suffering of the peasants in the region. Exhausted, injured, wracked with dysentery and ragged, Clements stretched his thin supplies beyond the breaking point, using razor blades as scalpels, dental floss for sutures, willow bark for analgesics and his own blood for a transfusion before proceeding with an operation. Despite the guerrilla innovation of free popular clinics, Clements was the only fully trained doctor in the area most of the time, and the rudimentary clinic-huts had precious few medicines for either the war wounds or the chronic illnesses of the poor. (A few dollars a month for simple medications could have helped Clements save many lives lost to minor heart ailments or malaria.)

There was the never-ending threat of attack, which might necessitate a long march by night to evacuate villages, as well as the tensions created by government agent provocateurs and spies (although Clements portrays the guerrillas as resolving most of these problems of order through discussion and rehabilitation rather than authoritarian discipline).

From his account, it is obvious why these peasants rebelled: impoverished, oppressed, physically tortured, denied any political voice, their grievances are understandable. But despite the hopes that motivate them and the popular faith inspired by organizers of the "base Christian communities," it is still remarkable how they persist in the face of continued attack.

In a clear, straightforward style, occasionally interrupted by autobiographical flashbacks, Clements presents a concrete narrative of his experience, rarely venturing into broader historical or political questions. It is a tale of riveting adventure, saddening tragedy and moments of inspiration that makes the war in El Salvador very human.

But the Congress members who voted for the expanded aid have no interest in relieving suffering or combatting injustice or even showing empathy with some downtrodden peasants. They act out of knee-jerk anti-Communism, domestic political calculation, defense of international capitalism and games of international bluff and bluster about "standing up to the Soviets" or "demonstrating American willpower." In the face of such considerations, neither reason nor information may make much of a difference.

Clements, who is now organizing medical aid for El Salvador (and awaiting the production of his book as a commercial film), recently discussed conditions in El Salvador with *In These Times*.

#### **How have things changed in the area where you were?**

About a third of the area has been permanently overrun by the Salvadoran military. A photographer who recently returned from there said they were being bombed three times a day as opposed to once a day when I was there. I had reports that in April 220 civilians died, which is probably about the number who died the whole year I was there from war-related injuries. So it's much worse.

There is an intense effort going on now—which is not "news"—of "separating the fish from the sea," a metaphor for separating the guerrillas from the civilians.

#### **Other than increasing civilian casualties, what effect is that having on the political and military balance?**

That's changed. The collapse of the garrison in El Paraiso and the bridge a few days later—two of the most strongly guarded targets in the country—are indications of the morale [problems] in the army. The Salvadoran army has decided it needs to clean up its image, not change its tactics. So bodies aren't appearing in the streets as a result of death squad activities.

**There have been several stories in recent weeks that guerrillas have apparently forced conscription. That struck me as a violation of usual guerrilla political principles and**

**perhaps a sign of weakness on their part.**

I knew of a forced recruitment that took place in a suburb of San Salvador. About 40 kids wanted to join up, and the only way they could do that without jeopardizing their families was to have a forced recruitment. Anyone who leaves home for a time from Salvadoran towns or neighborhoods puts a family under suspicion.

There were reports—such as Lydia Chavez' in the *New York Times*—of refugees fleeing Morazan who said, "They're abducting our sons." I talked to direct sources that questioned a number of church workers who went immediately to those families and interviewed them. They said, give us the name of your son and the circumstances, and we'll see what we can do. We have channels to talk to the guerrillas. The families said not to worry. We did this for our own safety.

Third, I think there have been some isolated, sporadic cases of recruitment, not the kind described, since as you see in the book, the guerrillas don't have the capacity of guarding anybody. I think they kidnap some people to let them see...a society unfolding [in the guerrilla controlled zones].

The FMLN [the coalition of five guerrilla groups] is not a monolithic organization, and it is an organization that enforces discipline by reasoning for the most part. There are mistakes made. There are errors of judgment. They occasionally kill civilians in ambushes that are stupidly planned, or rob people on the highway and call it war tax, but those [errant guerrillas] are disciplined when found out. And sometimes they kidnap people at gunpoint. But it's not a practice as a whole, nor do I think it's a sign of weakness.

#### **What were the highest rank contacts you had with the FMLN? How varied are the different groups?**

I met three of the five commandantes. They're all very clear of who their enemy is and of the new society they want to build. The leader of the military tendencies are Marxist-Leninists, and most of the soldiers consider themselves Marxists but would have a hard time defining the word if you asked them to do so.

Marxism is used more as a means of analysis than as giving them any blueprint for a future society. The cadres in Guazapa studied three textbooks: *The Life and Death of Archbishop Romero*, *The Penetration of Multinational Capital in Central America* and *Land Use in El Salvador*, the latter two being textbooks produced by the University of Central America in San Salvador. Some tendencies are more militaristic than others.

Most of the civilians within those tendencies are probably motivated more by their faith than by any ideology. Civilian governments function [in the controlled zones], make decisions and, except for military matters, virtually control their destiny. The level of organization that exists in the controlled zones reflects the work of the base Christian communities. That's been going on for 15 years in El Salvador. The Catholic cooperatives that started 10 years ago are revolutionary cooperatives today, but they are headed by the same men who started them.

#### **What is the relationship between the base Christian communities and the guerrillas?**

The base Christian communities are a great source of social and personal support for individuals, but they are not a political force as such. The same person who at night goes to a base Christian community and reflects on the

**"The message I try to bring is that there are political solutions to the conflict, and we're the obstacle to them."**

campesino situation the next day may sit on the town council. And one person on the council is a representative of the militias.

In controlled zones it was amazing not to see more manifestation of stress. There was very little psychosis or catatonic type depression that one would expect. The only thing I could ascribe it to was people's faith.

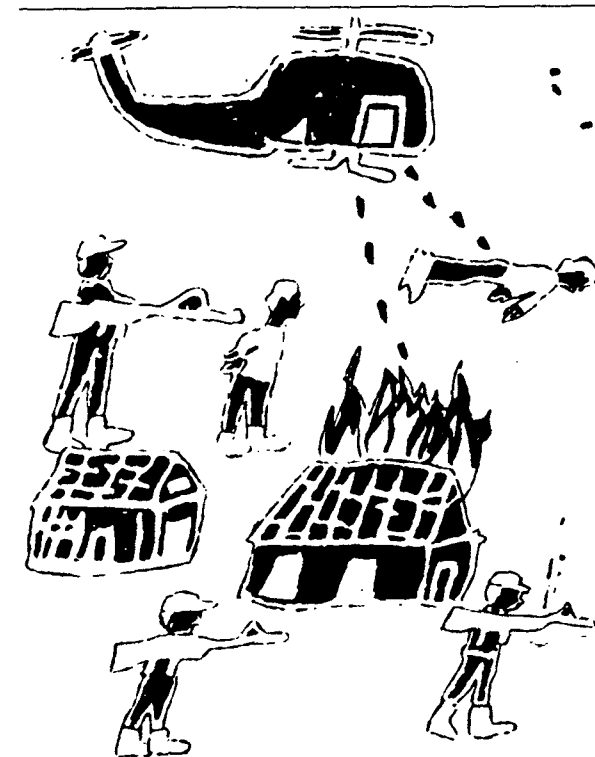
#### **It is striking what keeps the average peasant going in a situation like that where his or her commitment to the revolution, I suspect, is secondary to the well-being of his or her family.**

Well, you just hit on it, because they're totally interconnected. For many of them the revolution has become an expression of survival. Magdalena expressed the viewpoint that their lives had reached the point where they had so little dignity and hope that they're willing to make that sacrifice for their children. This group around Guazapa had not picked up arms at the inspiration of liberation theology but had started intensive organizing, as groups did all over Salvador. They formed some of the early cooperatives, had some of the early sit-down strikes and had demonstrations, all of which were met

with incredible repression. Most of the people living there resorted to this course of action because of what the military and death squads were doing to them.

**A lot of people in this country who read accounts of the death squads probably have the feeling, "How could people be doing this to each other?" They are from such a small country, and many of the soldiers are of peasant stock themselves. So they resort to explanations that this is just Salvadoran culture. How do you account for the brutality?**

This [Reagan] administration has repeatedly used phrases such as a tradition or heritage of violence, a violent left or violent right, and we're trying to steer some center course of sanity backing people like Duarte. That's patently untrue. Colonel [Juan Rafael] Bustillo, commander of the Salvadoran air force, when confronted by my allegations, admitted, "Oh yes, we used napalm up until 1981. It was



*A drawing by a Salvadoran child reflects the violent conditions in that country.*

supplied by Israel." That was when [now-President Jose Napoleon] Duarte headed the junta. Duarte, the great champion of human rights, never uttered a word about that.

The same is true with the characterization of "violence of the left and right." Not that the left doesn't kill people there, but I don't think you can point to a single documented atrocity or massacre on their part.

I found a people who were not inherently violent in any way. In a year of very intense stress, I didn't see a single case of child abuse or spouse abuse. I think there is a tradition of violence in Central America and Latin America, and it's associated with the military.

Talking to prisoners of war [helped me understand]. They were taught to kill women and children. The phrase I heard continually was, "Women are the factories for more guerrillas; children are the seeds of guerrillas that have to be eliminated."

As in Vietnam, the military tries to de-humanize the enemy. In Salvador they are "Communists," and Communists are some subhuman species that will do anything—rape your mother or kill your sister if they have a chance. The second part was that soldiers said they felt watched. If they showed any sign of weakness they were considered subversives.

At the end of the book I describe the trial of a member of the death squads. He didn't particularly want to [join], but to say no would have jeopardized his family, since he would have been considered sympathetic to the guerrillas. The first night they picked up a young boy and girl. Each member of the squad had to make a few cuts with a machete and violate the girl so they would be equally guilty. Under Salvadoran law no one can testify against anyone else if they have participated in the crime. It also sealed their fates, such that if anyone ever wanted to quit the death squad they would know so much that they would have to be killed themselves. That's been corroborated since by a couple of death squad members I talked to [in the U.S.].

**Here there's often the argument that the politicians like (Social Democrat) Guillermo Ungo in the FDR (Democratic Revolutionary Front) are figureheads, and the guerrillas with the guns control things.**

I don't accept that, because I saw FDR leaders entering the control zone to talk to commandantes, give lectures to troops, talk to congresses at great risk to their own lives. This war is profoundly a war of political strategy. For instance, the guerrillas watched their towns, villages and hospitals be decimated by the A-37s. They have no anti-aircraft defenses. There are SAM-7s, hand-held surface-to-air missiles, readily available...on the black market (and they don't buy them). The reason is political. If they did, that Soviet missile shooting down a U.S. plane is going to be a pretext for further U.S. intervention and maybe bringing in U.S. airpower.

The message I try to bring is that there are political solutions to the conflict, and we're the obstacle to them.

*Continued on page 22*



## DIALOG

# Can a small, poor socialist group find electoral success?

## More gratuitous swipes from ITT

By Jeremy Karparkin

**I**N THESE TIMES IS TAKING gratuitous swipes at Democratic Socialists of America's (DSA) electoral strategy again. These attacks are beginning to fly so regularly and with the same monotonous themes that one is tempted to assume that ITT readers are as bored with this argument as DSA is. I will take up some of the points raised in the August 8 editorial, "New party stirs within the old."

ITT begins by noting that DSA has been one of the few voices on the left that has long understood the importance of the Democratic Party as an electoral arena, and also that it is far easier for Jesse Jackson to "create" a party with his natural constituency than it is for an explicitly socialist political organization. Then the editorial goes on an irrelevant tangent, citing the Irving Howe-Michael Harrington article in the *New York Times Magazine* as evidence that DSA does not recognize Jackson or the Rainbow Coalition, and slighting the notion that the left might have some programmatic and intellectual impact on a potential Mondale administration.

For starters, it is unclear why ITT decided to judge DSA's electoral strategy by an article devoted specifically to left-wing economic alternatives. More importantly, ITT shows very little understanding of what DSA actually did in the elections and why. Yes, DSA did not endorse Jackson. As ITT's own editorial noted, the forces of the democratic left were divided in this race, thus making it very difficult for an organization like DSA—committed to a strategy of unifying the constituencies of the left—to endorse a single candidate. Such an endorsement would have been a signal that one constituency of the left was far and away more important than the others. In 1984, under

Reagan, neither DSA—nor ITT, for that matter—was prepared to make that statement. And DSAers were active for Jackson. DSAers for Jackson committees sprouted up in cities throughout the country. In some places, such as Portland, Ore., DSA locals made working for Jackson their highest priority. DSA threw itself wholeheartedly into the voter registration efforts. Our Youth Section made the Freedom Summer '84 Campaign a high priority, providing more than a dozen of their full-time coordinators. DSA held public meetings on the significance of the black and feminist electoral mobilizations. The DSA National Political Action Committee made quite clear to all members that work on behalf of Mondale or Jackson (and, earlier, Cranston or McGovern) would help further the aims of the democratic left by supporting candidates representing important left constituencies.

Does ITT really believe that it is not legitimate for the left to welcome a shift from Reagan to Mondale for the programmatic opportunities it offers? How short is our memory! Under Carter, the failed promises of liberal rhetoric allowed progressive organizations to make significant headway in the Democratic Party by pushing exactly the kinds of programs described by Howe and Harrington. No one wants to "wait around" to give Mondale "advice," but we would all be rare kinds of fools not to anticipate more elbow room for left ideas in public discourse under Mondale than under Reagan.

Finally, ITT would prefer DSA members in public office to be committed to DSA out of more than just principle but out of a "two-way street" reciprocal relationship. Sorry folks, that's not the way it works. A socialist organization with 7,500 members dispersed throughout the country is not going to get politicians to join out of self-preservation. In a few cities, DSA is significant enough to make socialist elected officials glad we're around in a pinch. But no public official is going to be elected by virtue of the DSA machine, not for a while anyway. The combined national budgets of DSA and ITT combined, for example, could barely finance one congressional campaign. At best, we can try to help elect

left-liberal candidates, support moderates like Hunt against crazies like Helms, and develop a climate where it will be easier for the Dellums, Britts and Messingers of this world to be open socialists. Both DSA and ITT have to accept the reality that successful politicians will join DSA out of commitment and principles, and that's good. As long as the U.S. is a deeply conservative country, where socialism and socialist ideas are anathema, socialists will have to accept a somewhat limited electoral role; and DSA and ITT will have to accept being much less relevant than we would like to be.

We all welcome comrades chiding and friendly exchanges, but next time ITT might consider talking to some DSA people before taking pokes at us. You would find that our electoral presence at the local level, far from "dwindling" is as active as ever, despite the big chill of the Reagan years.

Jeremy Karparkin is National Youth Organizer for DSA.

## Forget about the socialist label

By Eugene Narrett

**I**N THESE TIMES' EDITORIAL, "New party stirs within the old" (ITT, Aug. 8), was valuable for sustaining dialog on how left concerns might shape the Democratic Party's agenda in coming years. But to present the goal as creating a constituency for "a socialist tendency" is to cast the challenge in self-defeating terms.

Early on, the editorial aptly criticizes the penchant of many people on the left

to drift into political isolation, to prefer ideology to the gritty business of political action. So it is a terrible but mendable irony that *In These Times'* invocation of "the socialist or proto-socialist left" reflects the self-immolating tendencies writ large, among other places, in the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA).

To invoke socialism or define oneself as a socialist in the post-war U.S. is to choose political marginality. This is a terrible and unnecessary price to pay for rhetoric that in the era of Mitterrand, Craxi and Schmidt means very little indeed.

*In These Times'* self-description, as opposed to its self-labelling, offers a natural path toward significant political power. Grassroots empowerment is truly the essence of your concerns and of "the left" as a whole. As your editorial phrased the issue, "self-determination not subordinated to profit..." Renewal of grassroots political power strikes a responsive chord for a majority of Americans including the sizable minority already engaged in community and issue-oriented activism.

Andrew Kopkind and Alexander Cockburn in the *Nation* as well as your own editorial have recognized the potential of this arena for immediate political action. I urge that *In These Times* practice what it preaches to DSA *et al.* by dropping the counterproductive and vague references to socialism. This done we would gain the crucial benefit of integrating ourselves with our natural and large constituency.

The American idiom of the grassroots, of liberty and equality, belongs to us because it is threaded throughout our issues' substance. Let's reclaim the native language that truly measures our concerns and reap the political support they merit and, though inchoately, already enjoy.

## Another evasion from DSA leader

By James Weinstein

**I**T IS TRUE THAT WE HAVE made some of the arguments in the August 8 editorial before. But, sad to say, it is not true that there has been a debate on the issues raised.

We do not consider our criticism of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) an attack, but as the sincerest form of flattery. It is only because we share so much with DSA, and because we see it as the one socialist organization with a potential for development into a significant political force in the United States that we think and write about what it does. Unfortunately, there seems but slight reciprocity. Jeremy Karparkin's response repeats much of our editorial but evades the point at issue. But his letter may be useful in clarifying what is at issue. I will take up some of his points in an attempt to do so.

1. Citing the Howe-Harrington article was neither tangential nor irrelevant—unless Harrington is no longer DSA's pre-eminent political leader and its primary public figure. I assume he still is, and so I find it disturbing that he and Howe share the view that potential DSA influence within a Democratic administration should be based on intellectual superiority and giving personal advice. I juxtaposed this view to Jesse Jackson's role because it is clear that Jackson understood that giving personal advice to president Mondale would be less effective than having a solid electoral following. Of course I noted that it was much easier for Jackson to create his "party" within the party than it will be for socialists to do so. But the principle remains the same.

2. Endorsement of Jackson was not at issue—in fact, one purpose of the editorial was to explain why there was no reason to expect labor or NOW to endorse Jackson. It was only in the course of the campaign—by creating an electoral constituency—that Jackson earned the right to be seriously considered for future en-

dorsement.

But to reduce the argument to the level of members and money trivializes the question of the role of socialist organization in our political system. If we assume, as DSA does, that to be relevant politically it is necessary to participate in the major parties, then the question is how a socialist organization distinguishes itself from the many other local and national groups that engage in the kinds of activities Karparkin describes DSA engaging in. If, as Karparkin says, socialist ideas are anathema, then there is no hope. But we know that socialist ideas are not anathema—even if the idea of socialism is. And we know that the many socialists elected to office have been elected largely on the basis of their socialist principles.

We believe that it is possible to create a constituency for socialist ideas and programs, and although we agree that we have to accept "a somewhat limited electoral role," that does not mean no role at all. On the contrary, it means commitment to the process of building a popular constituency by finding those places where it is possible to elect people on the basis of our principles. That requires leadership and initiative, not waiting around for the resources to appear magically.

5. Reading Karparkin's response makes one wonder why he does not take Eugene Narrett's advice, for if it is not possible for a socialist organization to enter politics in its own right and on the basis of its own program, why carry the burden of socialism's unpopularity?

For our part, we call ourselves socialists because we are socialists. We espouse principles of a worldwide historic movement of working people that calls itself socialist and that is recognized as such in every modern society. When one embraces socialist principles in public life, especially with any success, being attacked as a socialist is inevitable. At that point, one can either fess up and defuse the issue, or deny that one's principles are what they are and create an irrelevant and damaging dispute about integrity and deceit. Those in public life who espouse socialist principles but continue to deny that the principles are socialist usually end up moving further and further to the right in order to prove that they are "clean." That benefits no one on the left.

*To reduce the argument to the level of members and money trivializes the question of the role of a socialist organization in our political system. The underlying question is how socialists can distinguish themselves from many local and national groups engaged in similar activity.*



# Some questions for high-pay advocates about productivity

## High wages and plenty don't mix

By Jim O'Connor

**H**ERE ARE SOME QUESTIONS for Sam Bowles, David Gordon and Thomas Weisskopf (ITT, June 6-July 11), who have well-earned reputations for their contributions to Marxist and critical economics, but whose bizarre claim that high wages will increase labor productivity hence economic growth strikes me as one more confused sign of our confused times.

1. The authors claim that "...high wages contribute to productivity because they constitute an important source of worker motivation." Isn't it true that many if not most workers in the context of alienated, exploitative conditions of work, might work less and "less smart" if they were well paid and also had secure jobs? Isn't it so that high wages may encourage more or less work, according to the prevailing concrete situation (e.g., compare World War II and the late '60s and early '70s). In other words, isn't there a whole sociological dimension missing in their analysis?

2. The authors also claim that narrowing the wage gap between high- and low-paid workers will increase labor productivity. This may be true in socialist societies. In capitalism, isn't it true that individualism and invidious status distinctions are a powerful motivating force? Hence, that it might be true that more productivity could be squeezed out of the U.S. working class by increasing inequalities?

3. In our epoch of social, abstract labor, doesn't productivity depend on the extent of specialization of work and division of labor, the development of science and technology, new R&D in civilian and military production, and the degree of moral cooperation within the workplace (to list a few major factors)? Much more than individual wages? If so, wouldn't an "economy of high wages" have to begin in the research labs, universities and other wellsprings of science and technology?

4. As Marx showed, the higher the wage rate, the greater the supply of labor (women, returnees from the ranks of the retired, youth, legal and illegal immigrants, etc.). Wouldn't a high wage economy increase the supply of labor-power hence create a tendency for wages to fall?

5. If wages were raised across the board (as the authors advise), the most productive and/or innovating capitalists could adjust (the authors claim). Not so the less productive or less innovating capitalists (the authors also claim). Isn't this just a repackaged version of the old neo-classical theorem of the "economy of high wages"? Meaning that high wages permit a few highly productive capitalist firms to skim off the best workers, leaving the less productive and less well-trained and motivated workers for low productivity jobs, which the authors claim their scheme would eliminate?

6. Don't high wages and high employment underwrite the expansion of consumer credit, home mortgages and so on, hence tilt the economy away from capital good to consumer good produc-

tion? Didn't this actually happen in the '50s and '60s? Wasn't the result a decline in potential relative surplus value-production?

7. Aren't high wages and full employment in any economy—capitalist or socialist—impossible? I mean, how is it possible to have full and secure employment and high wages and incomes and an abundance of consumer goods at the same time? Doesn't "consumer sovereignty" presuppose labor power as "variable capital"? Doesn't worker control of the conditions, process and product of work presuppose sharp limitations on consumer sovereignty, as defined in capitalist economies? The only major country in the world known to me that enjoys high consumption and full employment is Hungary, and the steep price Hungary pays for this "economistic utopia" is a terrible housing shortage.

8. If (in a capitalist economy) wages are

## Fundamental disagreements

By Samuel Bowles, David M. Gordon & Thomas E. Weisskopf

**R**ATHER THAN RESPOND point by point to Jim O'Connor's interesting and important questions it seems more productive (and more feasible given the space available) to focus on what appear to be fundamental disagreements, one concerning economics and the other politics.

First, many of O'Connor's questions stem from a view of the economy as a zero sum game in which if labor gets more, then capital must get less. Given the rampant waste in the American economy today, we think this view is fundamentally wrong, at least in the short and medium run. The zero sum idea presumes that we are currently using all of our productive resources, and using them well. But the sensible utilization of our material and human resources would make possible a substantial increase in output. The usual "trade offs," which delight economists and set one group of us against another—environmental protection versus jobs, investment for the future versus living standards or job safety today—are simply false in an economy that over the past four years failed to produce more than a trillion dollars of goods that could have been produced had idle workers and idle machines been put to use.

The "having your cake and eating it too" approach, of which O'Connor complains is exactly what we have in mind. As his own substantial contributions to economic thought have often stressed capitalism as a system of production im-

a form of capital advanced, isn't it true that an increase in wage payments greater than the rate of accumulation (and rate of profit) presupposes a revitalized and radical labor movement devoted to militant wage struggle? Do the authors propose such a revitalization? If so, what strategies are they thinking about?

In conclusion, if the authors' real agenda is to create a situation in which capital and labor would be forced to confront each other in open class struggle, they should say so. This may not be a wise position at this point in history, but it is at least defensible. What bothers me about their proposal is that it gives the illusion that we can have our cake and eat it, too, i.e., that we can keep our possessive individualism, traditional social democratic, economistic politics, and commitment to the commodity form of need satisfaction, meanwhile having full and secure and stable employment in the wage form of labor. A scattered remark or two pertaining to the importance of who controls productivity mechanisms and rewards, in my opinion, doesn't substitute for solid thinking about the whole subject of material life and its relation to power, exploitation, alienation and oppression. ■

James O'Connor teaches economics at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

poses irrational priorities and constraints on our ability to meet human needs. But this very irrationality suggests that it is capitalism, not scarcity or technology that stands in the way of surmounting the divisive tradeoffs of the dismal science. The key to sitting down to the "free lunch" we propose is to change the rules governing economic life.

Perhaps the fact that our articles made little use of the familiar Marxian terminology has given O'Connor the impression that our political intentions were considerably more modest than a wholesale transformation of the structure of our economy. But our concrete proposals—amplified in considerable detail in our book *Beyond the Waste Land*—should dispel this misapprehension.

Our second apparent disagreement with O'Connor concerns the process by which such fundamental change may realistically occur. We see a short and medium term economic alternative to the right as a necessary part of the process of political mobilization for fundamental change. Such a program must be practical, addressing peoples real concerns with

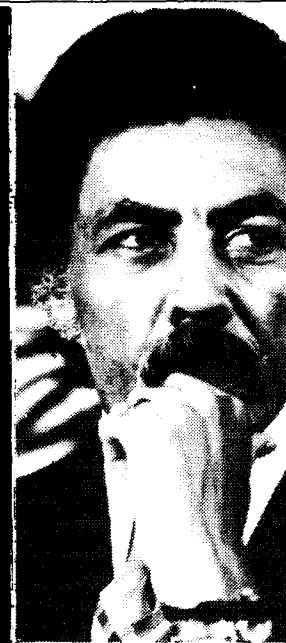
**O'Connor's points stem from a zero sum view of the economy in which labor can get more only if capital gets less. This would be true only with full use of capacity.**

their economic security and well being and avoiding the pie in the sky logic of some on the left. It must also be radical in the sense that each step builds the power to take the next step and builds the moral commitments that will make the next step possible.

An economic program by itself is no blueprint for the good society, nor is it even a sufficient basis for here and now mobilization. An economic program adequate to the needs of left democratic forces in the U.S. today must be complementary to a program of political and cultural change. Our objective was to provide the former, not the latter. For this reason our Economic Bill of Rights includes proposals that would allow the reduction of work hours, the transformation of family life, the reduction of our dependence on the market for the satisfaction of our needs, an equalization of wages and a rejuvenation of cultural and community life.

Having an economic program is not the same thing as being economistic. Not having an economic program is tantamount to being politically irrelevant. ■

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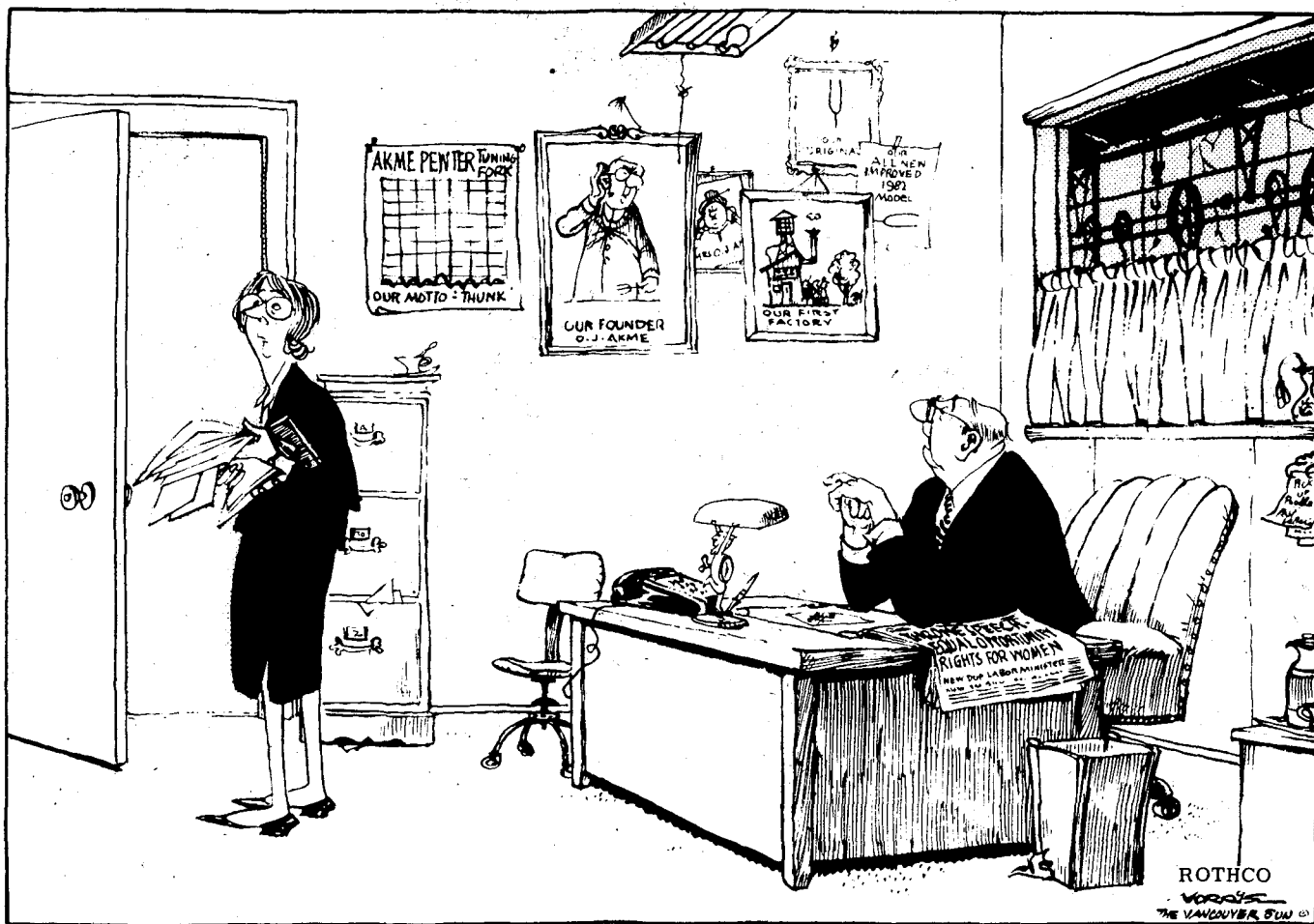
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## PERSPECTIVES

# Pay equity looks like issue of the '80s



"I want you to know, Miss Fairgender, I'm completely in accord with the call for equal pay for equal work, bearing in mind the difference in our equality..."

This is the first in a series of articles on pay equity.

By Jo Freeman

**T**HE CONCEPT OF EQUAL pay for work of equal value—known as comparable worth, pay equity and sex-based wage discrimination—has been called by friends and foes alike the women's issue of the '80s. Yet even among proponents there is little consensus on what it is, and whether legislative action should be taken.

The issue rose to national prominence last fall when U.S. District Judge Jack E. Tanner of Tacoma, Wash., ruled that the state had discriminated against its employees in predominantly female job classifications by paying them significantly less than employees in male job classifications involving equivalent skills, responsibilities and working conditions. In 1974 the state had conducted a study that revealed a 20 percent disparity between the average wages of traditionally male and female job classifications. When the state legislature acted slowly and inadequately to eliminate the difference, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) sued.

Since Tanner's ruling several bills or resolutions have been introduced in Congress and hearings have held by four congressional committees. But his decision is being appealed and the Justice Department says it may enter the case on the side of the state. Nonetheless, the House Committee on Government Operations recently recommended that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) file on the employees' side.

Although some have called comparable worth a radical proposal that would completely restructure the American economy, those most closely involved in the litigation or implementation consider it neither new nor radical. Winn New-

man, the attorney on the Washington state and other key cases, says, "It is really nothing more than plain old garden-variety, job-rate inequity with which the labor movement has historically wrestled. Unions have regularly grieved and arbitrated the proper rate for the job—and arbitrators have regularly been called upon to resolve disputes over these rates and to establish rates that employers must pay."

Nina Rothchild, Minnesota's commissioner of Employee Relations, says, "The principles of pay equity are simple and clear. Sex-based wage discrimination is against the law. Pay equity is a method to uncover and eliminate sex-based wage discrimination."

Newman declines to use the terms "comparable worth" or "pay equity" on the grounds that they are not legal terms and that they obscure what is at stake. He has spent more than 15 years litigating cases charging employers with "sex-based wage discrimination," which is prohibited by Title VII. The initial cases were filed on behalf of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE), of which he was general counsel. These cases sought to rectify long existing wage inequities that had been identified as early as World War II.

Under pressure from the War Labor Board to stabilize wages and avoid strikes, employers such as General Electric and Westinghouse hired consultants to evaluate its jobs and assign them points based on the skill, effort, responsibility and working conditions involved. Relative wages were determined by each job's relative point values, except that those jobs in which women predominated had their rates lowered by one-third so that the highest paid "women's jobs" paid less than the lowest paid "men's jobs."

The Equal Pay Act (EPA) passed in 1963 had no effect on these wage rates because it only required equal pay when men and women were doing the same work. When introduced in 1945 by Senators Claude Pepper (D-FL) and Wayne

Morse (D-OR) (who as a member of the War Labor Board had seen many of these cases), the EPA would have made paying women less than men for comparable work an unfair labor practice.

But, in 1962 the scope and enforcement provisions were narrowed to make passage possible.

The act had no effect on the common practice of channeling women and men into jobs based on their sex. Although Title VII prohibits segregation of jobs by sex, employers did not change their practices after it was passed in 1964. Instead, they changed the names of "female" and

wages. Several have testified at the hearings that if women want to be paid like men, they should "get a man's job." Opponents also claim that it is impossible to evaluate jobs impartially because too many value judgments are involved, that different jobs have different worths to different employers and that individual skill and ability should be rewarded differently.

Proponents' views are no more uniform than opponents', but some generalizations are possible. They deny that the market works well for most jobs and argue that women are discouraged from entering the better paying "male" jobs. While advocates of comparable worth policies agree that assessing a job's value is difficult, they don't foresee establishing a new evaluation agency or bureaucracy.

Rather, employers, particularly in the public sector, would be encouraged to do internal studies using job evaluation systems developed over 30 years, refined to account for sex bias. All these systems evaluate jobs, not the people doing them, and thus do not affect rewards based on performance. In order to work, they require that a consensus be achieved by representatives of different interests within a firm on the relevant job factors and the number of points to be given to each one.

Opponents argue that the cost of such studies would be prohibitive, and might only create more litigation on their validity. Proponents claim that full dress evaluations are not necessary; inquiries can be restricted to ascertaining the amount of sex-based wage discrimination, and that the informal job evaluation systems most employers already have would be sufficient in most cases. Since sex discrimination is illegal, a court might order a wage-disparity analysis if employers failed to do them on their own. Thus they would not necessarily avoid litigation by inaction.

The remedies pay equity proponents most frequently mention are legislation, litigation and collective bargaining. Most unions would prefer to achieve wage gains by collective bargaining, backed up by the threat of litigation. AFSCME only sued the state of Washington because state law prohibited public employees from bargaining over wages. Legislation by states to compel pay equity studies of their own employment practices is also encouraged. But since the courts have said that Title VII encompasses sex-based wage discrimination claims (and, by inference, race, religion and national origin as well), Joy Ann Grune, former director of the National Committee on Pay Equity, believes that "substantive legislation is not necessary. What we need is enforcement of Title VII." The Committee is an umbrella group of more than 75 organizations, including a dozen trade unions.

Several Congress members who support comparable worth and would like to attach their names to the cause have submitted bills or resolutions, as well as calling numerous hearings. Sen. Dan Evans (R-WA), who ordered the original Washington state study while governor but left office before it could be implemented, and Rep. Olympia Snowe (R-ME) have called for pay equity studies of the legislative branch and implementation of their findings. Mary Rose Oakar's (D-OH) bill recently passed by the House would have a private consultant do a similar study of the civil service. Alan Cranston (D-CA) and Pat Schroeder (D-CO) are exhorting the EEOC and other relevant agencies to pursue sex-based wage discrimination claims—a demand that would not have been necessary under previous administrations.

Schroeder had originally drafted bills to amend Title VII and the Equal Pay Act to incorporate sex-based wage discrimination claims, but was asked to drop them by pay-equity advocates. Such bills would have implied that sex-based wage discrimination was not already illegal, and that was not a good message to send the courts. If *AFSCME v. Washington* is overturned by a higher court, interest in such a bill may revive.

Jo Freeman is a Washington-based attorney.



By Nicholas W. Pilugin

**F**OLLOWING A MARCH IN Managua on July 9 led by Archbishop Obando y Bravo, 10 foreign priests were expelled from Nicaragua for alleged counterrevolutionary activities. The march protested the house arrest of Father Luis Amado Pena for alleged involvement with U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries, or contras. In a videotape aired over the Sandinista Television System, the priest was shown meeting with a man identified as a contra agent. Pena was later arrested while carrying a suitcase containing hand grenades and dynamite. For his part, Pena claims that he was given the suitcase to deliver for someone else and had no knowledge of its contents. He denies involvement with the contras. Later in July, the *National Catholic Reporter* published a memo of a meeting between Archbishop Obando and W.R. Grace Company executives at which the archbishop asked for money to further his organizing activities against the Sandinista government (see *In These Times*, Aug. 8).

The roots of this church-state conflict in Nicaragua predate the July 1979 Sandinista victory. During the revolution the bishops of Nicaragua showed little interest in intervening on behalf of families whose relatives had disappeared at the hands of dictator Anastasio Somoza's National Guard. According to Justiniano Leibl, a former Franciscan priest from Wisconsin living in Nicaragua since 1955, the Bishops' Conference not only refused to help these families, but became angered when priests like himself confronted the government with evidence implicating the National Guard in the disappearances.

Aside from the bishops' reluctance to confront Somoza on this issue, they were unwilling to open a dialog with the Sandinista revolutionaries. Leibl recalls asking one bishop shortly before July 1979 whether they intended to appoint a liaison to the Sandinistas. The bishop laughed, stating that if the Sandinistas came to power it would be the end of the Catholic Church in Nicaragua. This anti-Sandinista stance was further underscored when, only a few weeks before the July 19 victory, Archbishop Obando y Bravo flew to Caracas, Venezuela, to request U.S. military intervention against the revolutionaries.

For the past five years the bishops have maintained their anti-Sandinista prejudices. Criticizing the government over every minor incident and misunderstanding, the bishops have needled the Sandinistas, and then complained vociferously whenever they have been attacked in return. Two major examples of the Church's animosity toward the government stand out.

The first was the visit of Pope John Paul II in May 1983. While the government provided buses to transport thousands of people free of charge to see the pope, televised his visit and made every effort to accommodate the pontiff during his stay, John Paul's treatment of his hosts was not reciprocal. During an open air mass, John Paul refused to say a prayer for the thousands of Nicaraguans who had died fighting to free their country from the tyranny of Somoza's dictatorship. The Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs, an organization similar to the American Gold Star Mothers, was present in large numbers bearing photographs of their dead children. As the pontiff continued to ignore their presence, speaking on and on about the need for the people to rally around the church, the crowd began to grow restless and angry at what they saw as an insult to their dead by the pope. Matters came to a head when John Paul told the crowd, on three different occasions, to "be silent." According to Leibl, "These people won't take that kind of treatment from anybody—not from their government, not from the pope. They've been through too much."

Further straining church-state relations was the release of the Bishops Pastoral Letter in April of this year. Billed as an attempt at reconciliation, the letter called on the Sandinistas to begin a dialog with all Nicaraguans—including the U.S.-backed contras. While asking the Sandi-



An Augusto Sandino poster on Managua's National Cathedral

## PERSPECTIVES

## Anti-Sandinista prejudice is long Church tradition

*Archbishop Obando's opposition to the Nicaraguan regime has little to do with current developments. Long before the Sandinistas took power, he did all he could to save Somoza.*

nistas to compromise ideals they fought and died for in favor of former members of the National Guard who have been killing teachers and destroying agricultural cooperatives, the bishops made no direct reference to American intervention in Nicaraguan internal affairs. Bishop Salvadore Schlaefter defended the letter by saying that an open dialog between all parties is the only way to bring peace to the country. Yet the bishops made no similar attempt to reunify the country during the revolution, calling instead for an American invasion.

The bishops' opposition to the Sandinistas is surprising in light of the fact that religious conviction played a major role in the revolution, and continues to do so. Many of the combatants in the Sandinista Revolutionary Front were motivated to arms by their Christian beliefs—what is commonly known as liberation theology. Moved by the poverty, the human suffering of their fellow citizens, having been taught by the Church that everyone is equal in the eyes of God, thousands swarmed to the ranks of the revolution to overthrow an oppressive dictatorship. Those Christian convictions continue to be held by many members of the military. It is not uncommon to see uniformed soldiers wearing a cross along with their Soviet AK-47 machine guns. In the small town of Jiccaro, some 40 miles from the border with Honduras, I accompanied an American priest on his rounds to several neighboring communities. As a mass was celebrated at a small farm, people would regularly drift in from the mountains in small groups, many of them members of the army and local militia.

The revolution has also included members of the Church in the government. Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto is a Catholic priest, as is the newly named Minister of Education Fernando Cardenal. Other government posts, ministries and agencies include priests and nuns in key leadership and staff positions, including the National Human Rights Commission.

### Church remains hostile.

The response, however, of the Church hierarchy to these efforts to incorporate religious values in Nicaragua's government has been negative. Both the bishops

and Pope John Paul have decried the involvement of priests and nuns in politics. Yet John Paul has not remained neutral in political matters relating to his own Polish homeland, and the bishops of Nicaragua have continually tried to influence the country's politics.

Perhaps more indicative of the true state of relations between the Church as a whole and the Sandinistas are to be seen on the local level. Churches throughout the country continue to celebrate mass with good attendance. Religious education continues unhampered by the government, and a major push is underway to recruit more Nicaraguan young people to the religious orders. In times of trouble, the people still look to the Church for aid and sanctuary. While in Jiccaro, I noticed an AK-47 machine gun leaning against a desk in the church office. A priest explained that they had been up most of the night with the militia in expectation of a contra attack.

All of this contradicts the allegations of the Reagan administration and Nicaraguan conservatives, who charge the Sandinistas with suppression of the bishops and Church hierarchy. Even Bishop Schlaefter, known as one of the more conservative of the bishops, told *In These Times* that incidents of government interference in the Church were isolated, the result of overzealous individuals. The prediction of one bishop that a Sandinista victory would spell the end of the Church has proven wrong. The Sandinistas continue to support the right to worship and desire the participation of the religious in society.

Yet while the bishops and Church hierarchy bear much of the responsibility for the current state of church-government relations, neither are the Sandinistas blameless. The expulsion of the 10 priests from the country was heavy-handed overreaction. After the release of the Pastoral Letter in April, a campaign against Archbishop Obando y Bravo was unleashed, which included daily publication of photographs showing the archbishop hobnobbing with Somoza and members of his family. All of this betrays the presence of a siege-mentality on the part of the Sandinistas. After five years of almost constant pressure coming from the U.S., which has influenced and bolstered internal opposition, the Sandinistas feel backed into a corner. As a result, it should not be too surprising that when provoked from within they will lash out, and lash out hard.

Nicholas W. Pilugin is a Minneapolis free-lance writer and photographer who recently returned from a three-month visit to Nicaragua.

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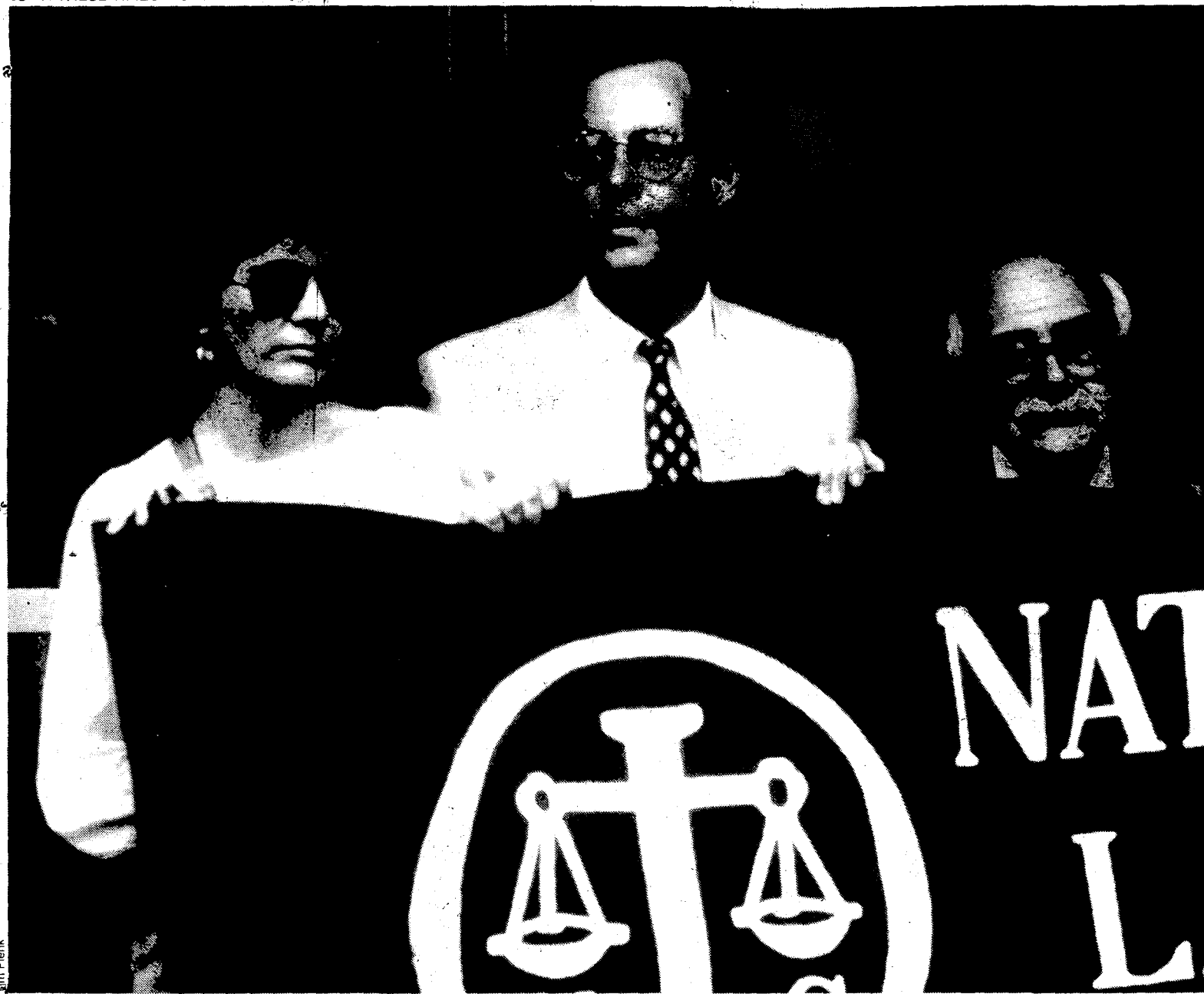
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Barbara Dudley, Richard Levy and Arthur Kinoy

# Lawyers confront new times

By Joan Walsh

NEW YORK

As casualties real and figurative began to mount in the months after Ronald Reagan took office, national politics reasserted a strong pull for many on the left who had retreated into single interest or local politics after the movements of the '60s and '70s lost direction.

For Barbara Dudley, that meant leaving her job as an attorney with California's Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) to become president of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), to help shore up a legal bulwark against the right's political, economic and constitutional assault.

Elected to a two-year term in 1982, Dudley's first task was putting the "national" back in the NLG, which had essentially become a loose confederation of 100 local chapters often unaware of what others were doing. Dudley became the Guild's first paid, full-time president since the mid-'60s, when the era's experiments in organizational structure meant collective, decentralized management for the Guild. Now, with a director, a unionized staff, 7,400 members and a glossy annual report outlining the Guild's achievements last year, the national office's most significant task remains: to set a national agenda appropriate to a left legal association in the 1980s.

In many ways, the Guild's work has for decades been defined for it, not by it. Founded in 1937, it was to be "an effective political and social force in the service of the people to the end that human rights shall be regarded as more sacred than property rights." In the early years of the Guild, many of its members worked for labor unions and the

federal government, helping to craft the New Deal programs that would relieve the poverty and unemployment of the Depression. At the end of World War II, it was one of 40 official groups in the U.S. delegation to the founding conference of the United Nations.

But it had always been an aggressive defender of the political rights and activities of minorities and the left, and it stood up for the victims of anti-Communist hysteria in the late '40s and '50s only to become one itself. High on the list of "Communist front organizations" targeted by the FBI's COINTELPRO and its precursors—some of its leaders were Communist Party members—its best-known activity is its suit against the FBI, first brought in 1977. Even today, where there's a Red Squad law suit, you're certain to find Guild members working on it.

Federal harassment took its toll on the Guild—membership dropped from 4,000 in 1937 to 500 by the mid-'50s—but the civil rights, antiwar and student movements of the '60s and '70s helped resuscitate it. Law students gravitated to the Guild, including Dudley, who studied at Berkeley. "It was a place where you could plug into the progressive legal movement," Dudley says. "Law school can be incredibly alienating, and the Guild lets you hold on to your belief that you can use the law to help people."

Like many Guild members, Dudley got involved with antiwar work and draft counseling after law school. She went to the Philippines with the Guild's Military Law Project to counsel and defend antiwar soldiers. In one celebrated case she represented 13 black GIs accused of mutiny for refusing to go on patrol, a case tinged with racial politics that complicated the military

issues. Twelve received administrative discharges; one served time.

## "Broad-based politics."

Returning to the Bay Area in 1973, she took a lot of tenant-landlord cases, helped draft Berkeley's rent control ordinance and worked with the California Rural Legal Assistance agency. She also got involved in local feminist politics, working with displaced homemakers' groups and helping to start the Guild's Women's Labor Law Project. She moved to rural El Centro to work with the ALRB, and weathered the early days of the Reagan administration there. "It became clear to me that I had to get involved in national broad-based politics," she said.

The Guild may seem an odd place to pursue that goal. Yet Dudley and others within the organization saw an opening for a left lawyers group that ap-

proached established political channels—lobbying, legislation and even electoral politics—with a little more interest than the Guild traditionally has. There's been a growing readiness to work for what at one time might have been considered "reformist" goals—lawsuits on behalf of the homeless in Los Angeles, reproductive rights groups fighting to get pro-choice information on buses in Buffalo, N.Y., workers facing plant closings, coalitions trying to liberalize voter registration laws around the country.

But turning those stirrings into some sort of national agenda is another question. So far, the Guild's response has been to establish issues areas that members consider important—opposing racism, sexism and Third World intervention, advancing economic rights and setting up a more coherent program for law student members. Vice presidents have been appointed to coordinate chapter work within these areas, and that has mainly amounted to collecting information from members around the country. But even that's a large step forward, Dudley believes, from days when "a chapter in Texas didn't know what Chicago or Seattle was doing."

Its anti-intervention effort is currently the most productive. At the Guild's recent convention in Seattle, the group made a commitment to furthering its work defending Central American refugees and those who give them sanctuary. For the election, the Guild will stage "War Crimes Tribunals" to publicize the illegalities that have characterized Reagan's foreign policy—the mining of Nicaragua's harbors and invasion of Grenada chief among them.

In other areas, the Guild's mission is less clear cut. Women's issues have long been a focus of

certain Guild chapters—the Bay Area, for one—and as the Guild's female membership grew, so did the number of women lawyers working on sex discrimination issues, such as reproductive rights and comparable worth. Rhonda Copeland, for example, the victorious attorney in the Supreme Court's landmark *Roe v. Wade* abortion decision, is a longtime Guild member.

But most women have worked on such issues "wearing other hats," notes Judy Kurtz, the Guild's vice president for anti-sexist work. (Terms like "anti-sexist," "anti-racist" and subgroups named the "National Committee to Combat Women's Oppression" betray a lingering attachment to New Left self-righteousness and the apparent absence of positive political goals.) And carving out a specific function for the Guild on women's issues is difficult. "It mostly amounts to information sharing—publicizing comparable worth cases, letting people know about our members defending abortion clinics in Seattle, about our sexual harassment clinic in the Bay Area," Kurtz said.

## Areas of resistance.

Dudley sees real opportunities for the Guild on economic rights. "Domestically, there are growing areas of resistance—to plant closings, unemployment and welfare cuts, to toxic wastes in communities. And people are going to need lawyers and their technical skills."

Yet increasing attention to domestic issues presents problems as well. "It becomes a question of whether you are going to be involved in the political process or not," says Lou Steel, president of the Guild's New York chapter. New York has an active legislative committee that evaluates candidates and legislation, and other chapters are setting up similar groups. But even someone as committed to "influencing" the political system as Steel is harbors a certain ambivalence: "You're always dealing with: do you support a plant closing bill that makes the situation a little bit better, but really is not enough?"

Even if Dudley and other Guild leaders could answer those questions, translating them into a program of action is another matter. An organization relying almost exclusively on volunteers, the Guild has always been chiefly defined by the priorities and activities of its members and local chapters. But the last four years have sharpened most people's thinking about what constitutes meaningful opposition to the ruling right. "People know that this is a long-term battle, and our base is broadening," Steel notes.

In this election year, Dudley thinks the Guild's role must be "pointing out that Reagan is essentially an outlaw, that his administration considers itself above civil rights, constitutional, international law." The electoral activity on the left is important, she believes, even if its likely beneficiary—Walter Mondale—is no one's ideal candidate.

"We may wind up having to elect a Mondale, and he will make a difference on civil rights, labor law, even arms control," Dudley said. His foreign policy pleases her less. "But right now there's no movement to pin him down, so we can't expect any better."

*"There are growing areas of resistance: plant closings, unemployment and welfare cuts. People are going to need lawyers,"*  
—Barbara Dudley



## POLAND

# Weschler's passionate prose lets Poles be Poles

**The Passion of Poland**  
By Lawrence Weschler  
Pantheon, 263 pp., \$10.95

**By Magda Paleczany-Zapp and Kenneth Zapp**

No one has done a better job of letting Poles express their hopes, fears, pain and frustration than Lawrence Weschler. Only a writer with good journalistic instincts and minimal preconceptions about Poland could do this so well. The first two essays won him wide acclaim when they originally appeared in the *New Yorker*. Now, as then, readers will be impressed by his ability to convey impressions from only three brief trips to Poland and with little or no formal training in Eastern European affairs.

By giving Poles their voice, Weschler helps readers appreciate the diversity of views they hold on all issues. As the Poles say, three Poles can quickly form four political parties. No longer can problems there be cast in the simple terms of the ideologues in Washington or Moscow. On the contrary, readers may rightly see no solutions.

Although he focuses on events since 1980, Weschler's greatest contribution may be his analysis of Polish-Jewish relations. He describes the horror of anti-Semitism and then lets Poles who only recently learned they were Jewish explain their understanding of its causes. Unfortunately, he

received criticism from readers of the *New Yorker* essays. Instead he deserves praise for shedding some light on a major tragedy: the failure of Poles and Jews to realize their common plight in the face of Russian and German domination since the 18th century.

Weschler does not discuss the World War II roots of current

Eastern European perceptions. While remembering that more than a million non-Jewish Poles were killed in the concentration camps, he fails to describe the subsequent fear and hatred that Poles still feel toward Germans, East or West. He reports that 20 million Soviets died in the war, but did not add that Hitler's new order for Eastern Europe called

for the extermination of 30 million "excess" people. Most of these Slavs were Soviet citizens whose offspring have not forgotten their Holocaust.

This integration of events requires a background Weschler lacks. His journalistic strengths also set his limits. He portrays the emotions of people the way historians and economists cannot, but he does not pull the pieces into a unified whole.

He mentions the backwardness of Poland's economy prior to the war and discusses the partition of the country by Russia, Prussia and Austria from the late 1700s to 1918. But he does not explain that Poland was purposefully kept backward during this period to serve these empires, at the very time other countries were industrializing their economies.

He accepts Solidarity's claims that no other country struggled with the task of implementing self-management. He praises their pioneering efforts to decentralize the economy while maintaining national social standards.

IN THESE TIMES AUG. 22-SEPT. 4, 1984 19  
Having lectured on self-management in Poland in 1978 and again last summer, we know that Poles are strangely ill-informed about the Yugoslav system, but the author of a book about Poland need not share their ignorance.

Weschler does not understand what self-management means to working people. Depressed by the poor physical conditions in Polish enterprises, he quotes a film director on the improbabilities of economic democracy. He should have worked in different factories, maybe one in Chicago and another in Belgrade, to see them as workers do. Self-management affords workers dignity, something far more precious to them than hygiene. Though most intellectuals suffer from this class blindness, it becomes debilitating when dealing with workers' movements.

In another section, Weschler confuses the issues of economic reform even further. He correctly identifies the two changes Solidarity viewed as the precondition

*Continued on page 20*



**Solidarity: The Polish Revolution**

By Timothy Garten Ash  
Scribners, 388 pp., \$17.95

**By Peter Rossman**

In *Solidarity: The Polish Revolution*, Timothy Garten Ash has written a lively and informative account of the rise and repression of Poland's remarkable free trade union movement. At the same time he probes the awkward relationship between Solidarity, the European and American peace movement and the left. Ash, an English journalist who publishes frequently in the *Spectator*, addresses a British audience, but his critical remarks on the peace movement apply with even greater force in the U.S., where a discussion of the arms race has tended to detach itself from the dynamic of the bloc system and the Cold War in Europe.

For openers Ash takes us on a lightning trip through modern Polish history. While his whirlwind tour through post-war Poland misses a few important stops along the way—the traditions of the Polish Socialist Party and the Home Army come immediately to mind—he at least manages to avoid the confusion and apologetics that have marred numerous other accounts. Ash understands that Gomulka and the national communism that emerged

# A missed chance for East-West solidarity

from the upheaval of 1956 were less a failed reformism than the alternative to reform. This is key to understanding much of what has transpired since then.

On the whole, Ash succeeds admirably in making sense of Solidarity's turbulent 16 months as a legal organization representing some 10 million Polish workers. His judgments are judicious, and through a deft combination of narrative and interview he conveys the drama and excitement that kept Poland's workers in the headlines.

Regrettably, however, he makes no attempt to disentangle the uniquely Polish from the universal elements in the movement, nor to relate the specifically Polish aspects of the economic crisis under Gierek to the general crisis afflicting the Soviet bloc as a whole.

But it is the questions raised in the concluding sections of the book that pose the most serious challenge to the European and American left. Ash suggests that the cause of Poland should have been for the left today what

Spain was in 1936. He castigates both the peace movement and the left generally for their inadequate support (or outright hostility), while pouring equal scorn on the capitalist democracies.

"One cannot escape the strange feeling," wrote Czech socialist Jiri Pelikan, "that it is a handicap for this country [Poland] to be in Europe. If such a profound revolutionary transformation had taken place under such an external threat in a nation in the Americas, Africa or Asia, the Western left would not merely have adopted resolutions of solidarity; it would have organized street demonstrations, marches, sit-ins or even strikes..." But Europe is where the blocs collide head on, confronting one another as two armed camps.

Ash believes that a Marshall-type plan of massive emergency aid keyed to an insistence on economic reform just might have bailed out both Solidarity and the regime. He castigates Western bankers and government leaders—Helmut Schmidt in par-

ticular—for their cynical acquiescence in the Jaruzelski coup and judges this a shameful betrayal of the democratic promise of detente. But was detente (and its German subspecies *Ostpolitik*) ever the "noble," "democratic foreign policy" he mistakes it for? Western bankers, after all, were calling for austerity and a strong man long before the tanks rolled in.

If we date the advent of detente with the invasion of Czechoslovakia and Nixon's simultaneous war on Vietnam and the opposition at home, the policy appears in quite a different light. Detente was in reality a mere breather, a patchwork system in which both superpowers, faced with debilitating problems at home and abroad, decide to temporarily cut their losses and respect their opponent's spheres of influence. With the U.S. bogged down in Vietnam and facing stagflation at home, West Germany began to flex its economic muscles and develop a more independent relationship with its traditional trading partners in the

East. The whole affair was couched in the language of human rights, but if you look beneath the rhetoric Western relief at the Polish coup appears not as a death blow to the system, as Ash would have it, but rather as its logical culmination.

Detente was merely a new form of Cold War and as unstable as the systems whose conflict and competition it sought to regulate. Large sections of the left and the peace movement were unprepared for the challenge of Solidarity because their conceptual universe remained embedded in the matrix of detente.

Influential sections of the democratic opposition in the East—e.g., Czechoslovakia's Charter 77—have recently called for a dialog with the Western peace movement. If this dialog is to succeed, we must begin to formulate a genuinely democratic peace policy, one that aims at overcoming the division of Europe and points beyond the blocs. Meanwhile the Polish fuse continues to burn—the recent "Amnesty" has solved absolutely nothing—and the issues Ash raises are not about to go away.

*Peter Rossman is an American correspondent for the British journal Labor Focus on Eastern Europe and is a contributor to the American magazine Across Frontiers.*



# Poles

Continued from page 19

tions for self-management: the decentralization of economic decision making from the state to enterprises and the election of enterprise directors by workers. But later he concludes that the economy cannot be decentralized because the party will not allow workers to select their managers.

The two issues can be kept separate. Hungary has successfully decentralized its economy while maintaining government control over enterprise appointments. The Polish Party, lacking political legitimacy, cannot give up the patronage system of rewarding loyalty with enterprise promotions and preserve whatever internal discipline it still commands. Weschler describes this well, but does not explain how economic decentralization won broad acceptance for Kadar's once hated regime in Hungary.

Though Weschler readily admits dependence on interpreters, knowledge of Polish would have helped him avoid other errors. His repeated use of "Commisar," for instance, gives a false impression of Polish politics; they neither use the term nor have such positions. A related pitfall is that people tell Americans what they believe they want to hear. This may explain the silly claims that the ZOMOs are on drugs and that the American sanctions have not hurt the Polish economy. Even Walesa has called for their cessation precisely because they hurt Poles, not the state.

Weschler's commitment to telling it as the Poles see it and his enthusiasm for the errors of the Polish government are easily seen. The novice in Polish affairs will nevertheless have trouble following him as he wanders through his material. At times he seems to be struggling with his own inclinations or taking several sides of an argument.

Still, we applaud his integrity. He displays the contradictions on all sides in Poland to an American audience that might want to hear only about good and evil. Some readers would therefore benefit from a political-historical roadmap on which Weschler's data can be arranged. Without hesitation we recommend Neal Acherson's *The Polish August*, a brilliant analysis of Polish politics since the war. Like Weschler, he approaches the upheaval in 1980 sympathetically but benefits from several years as a British correspondent in Poland.

In praising Weschler's reporting of Polish views, we do not mean that he uncritically passes all that he encountered. He was prepared for abuses of power by the government, but not for the extreme views of some Solidarity members. He revolts against those who sought confrontation and war as the only way to change the system. He is shocked by their naivete about nuclear war. He understands the danger of extreme anti-Russian Polish nationalism. He rejects the minority who said martial law was worse than life under Hitler. Though critics of Jaruzelski had full reign, he added that the General probably believed what he did was necessary for the nation in December 1981. The question is why the government, with the aid of Solidarity, let conditions deteriorate to the point that martial law seemed necessary to more

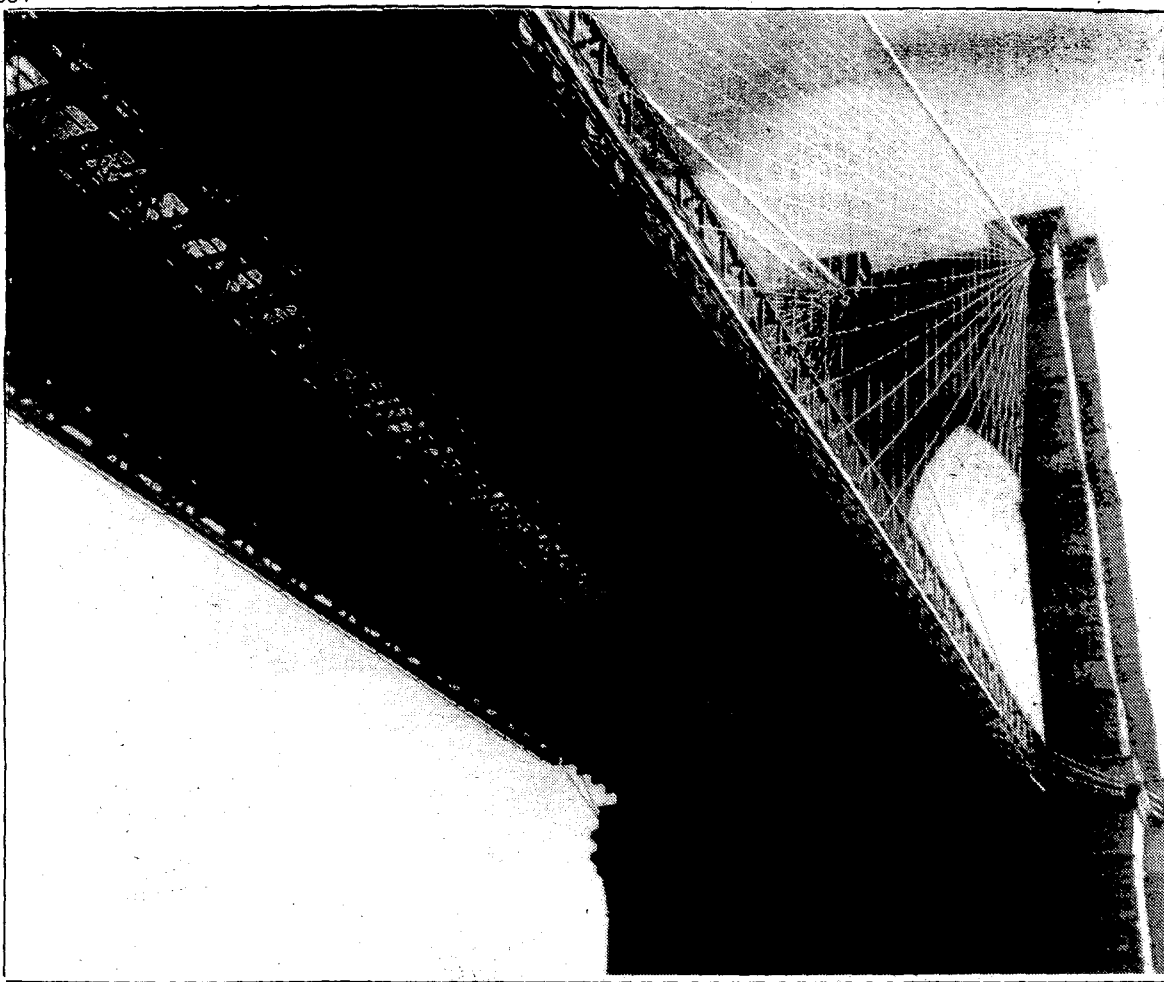
Poles than our media led us to believe.

Here Weschler could have done better. His sources were either strongly pro- or anti-government. Missing were the views of Party members who had openly supported Solidarity. Last summer we found them to have the clearest analysis of Poland's plight, a blame shared among many. Had Weschler returned to Poland last year, and not relied entirely on contacts he developed during earlier visits, this oversight could have been avoided. Weschler rightly characterizes Poland as at a stalemate. With military support, the Party has power but not authority. The workers know they can block Party actions but not take power themselves. The Church will neither attack nor support the government; it will only run to catch up with society whenever society leaves the Church behind.

Poland will not change without the Party's agreement. Unlikely as it seems, the Polish Party remains the key as long as Poland is constrained by its geopolitics. The struggle within the Party, between those committed to the changes of 1980 and others who want to turn the clock back, needs greater emphasis. Weschler misleads readers by focusing on underground Solidarity. Fortunately or not, life goes on in Poland, and the underground retains little influence, contrary to what Weschler wants us to believe. The battle over the crucifixes made this clear. Spontaneous conflicts will arise from systemic contradictions, with or without the underground.

Finally, Weschler could express his compassion for Poland more effectively if he explicated the nation's geo-political position between East and West. The daily intrigue and disappointments will continue until the Soviet Union feels more secure about its border to the west, especially the region facing the Germans. Most Poles know this. That is why they limit their revolutions instead of going to the wall as their Western cheerleaders would have them do. Why can't Americans understand?

**Kenneth Zapp teaches economics at Metropolitan State University in Minneapolis-St. Paul. Magda Paleczny-Zapp teaches economics at Macalester College in St. Paul. They have traveled with students to Poland five times.**



Paul Constock

## DESIGN

# Architects of capitalism

**Modern Architecture and Design: An Alternative History**  
By Bill Risebero  
MIT Press, 256 pp., \$17.50

By Gary Fields

In his new book *Modern Architecture and Design*, architect and planner Bill Risebero has written "an alternative history" of the origins and development of modern architectural design. He has also taken some bold steps in assessing the contemporary design profession.

For Risebero, modern architecture has its origins within the framework of what English historian Eric Hobsbawm has termed "The Dual Revolution"—the economic, industrial revolution that began in England around 1750 and the political revolution in France in 1789 that gave political hegemony to the new class of bourgeois entrepreneurs.

Risebero has achieved a rare synthesis in this book, integrating his professional expertise as an architect with a sophisticated understanding of historical materialism and the dynamics of social change. At the same time he has written an eminently readable work. Refreshingly absent from *Modern Architecture and Design* is the pretentious terminology normally utilized by architectural historians.

Risebero argues that the developing factory system of the late 18th century required an enormous amount of new building, much of it unprecedented in form and technique. The skills needed to accommodate the new industrial building were taken up by a new type of professional with roots in the military—the civil engineer.

During this early period the traditional architects were concerned with civic and private building requirements for the bourgeoisie and utilized past traditions—classical, gothic, renaissance—to accomplish this. In contrast, the engineers were us-

ing a new functional aesthetic to accommodate the building needs of the new factory system.

The emergent science of engineering and industrial building differentiated itself from the traditional practice of architecture. Yet at the same time, the pressures of the new factory system eventually forced a convergence between traditional architectural design and the new industrial building.

Risebero traces this convergence through various phases; from its symbolic beginning with Joseph Paxton's building for the London Exhibition of 1851, the Crystal Palace, to some of the industrial buildings and structures designed in France such as *Les Halles* (1866), Gustave Eiffel's tower (1889) and John Roebling's Brooklyn Bridge (1883) in the U.S., to the industrial designers of the Werkbund group in Germany at the beginning of the 20th century.

In designing the buildings required by the new factory system, architects and engineers such as Paxton and Roebling had to incorporate much of industrial capitalism's new technological advances, especially with metals. Werkbund architects, on the other hand, assumed a pioneering role in making factory operations more profitable through design innovation. These innovations ranged from product design, to the design of assembly lines necessary to manufacture those products to the actual facilities housing the entire production process. Applying the Werkbund philosophy of "designing for the production line" Peter Behrens established new criteria for architectural design in his building for the AEG turbine factory in Berlin and for his design of electrical products fabricated there.

### Capitalism's critics.

Risebero points out, however, this process of transforming design into a commodity did not go

unchallenged. The English furniture designer, architect and artist William Morris in the late 19th century was perhaps the most outspoken critic. He was ardently committed to the idea that design and the new technology should be used as a means of fulfilling human needs rather than the needs of profit and accumulation.

For Morris this vision was possible only through a complete transformation of society. Consequently he combined his work in the "arts and crafts movement" with activism in the English socialist movement. It was in Russia following the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 that Morris' vision of design received its first important stimulus. The ideals of the Revolution provided architects with the opportunity of using design and modern engineering for the purpose of solving social problems.

The most interesting section of the book is Risebero's treatment of the architects in Russia who were inspired by the ideals of the Revolution, the Russian "Constructivists." The works of Constructivist architects, such as El Lissitzky, were innovative and influential. Imbued with a sense that they were helping to construct a new social order, the Constructivists made the social ideas of communal living and working the starting point for architectural design. Their influence would eventually alter the direction of the Bauhaus in Germany, which after 1922 also served as a beacon for social change and the focus of what became the "Modern Movement" in architecture.

In the last chapter of the book Risebero offers a critique of contemporary architecture. He indicts the profession for its failure to address real human needs. Contemporary architecture is heavily interested in purely stylistic questions, he argues.

Indeed, certain architects are projecting a new vision for future design. Ralph Erskine, for example actually worked out his design for the Byker housing project in Newcastle, England, in consultation with the tenants themselves. Such a procedure marks a significant departure from traditional practice in that it allowed the users of the building to participate in the shaping of their spatial environment—a major factor in the building's resounding success.

Risebero's model for future action is also being supplemented by new ideas from the women's movement. Design theorists such as Dolores Hayden have analyzed how the qualities of architectural and urban space have contributed to the perpetuation of women's oppression. Hayden insists that the social starting point for design must include a recognition of an alternative societal role for women. Such a perspective contributes to a more comprehensive critique of design practice and along with the vision of Morris and the Constructivists is a vital ingredient for making future architecture a truly social art.

*Modern Architecture and Design* might be criticized for its attempt to cover too much historical ground. Yet the real significance of Risebero's contribution lies more in its method of inquiry—a method that offers an alternative history of architecture. **Gary Fields writes on housing and technology issues and is currently a graduate student in city planning and environmental design at Berkeley.**



## TV show hides main victims

By Stephen Harvey

Nothing brings out the sleaze in the media more than an epidemic. Television's response to the AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome) crisis has proven this once again. The fever peaked about a year ago with a scourge of local-affiliate produced tidbits of a decidedly schizoid nature. Sober-faced correspondents intoned lurid accounts of mass paranoia over tainted blood supplies and "Typhoid Murmurs" hidden among us normal folks. These dispatches naturally served to disseminate and amplify the very fears they recorded. The lachrymose alternative was provided by human-interest portraits of the AIDS-afflicted, which tended to feature the same handful of victims over and over again, quavering on cue and lamenting the past excesses of their libertine lives. (These recitations usually took place as a voice-over accompaniment to a Stygian vision from the subculture—gay men doing something really wicked like bopping up and down to a Donna Summer tape at the local disco.)

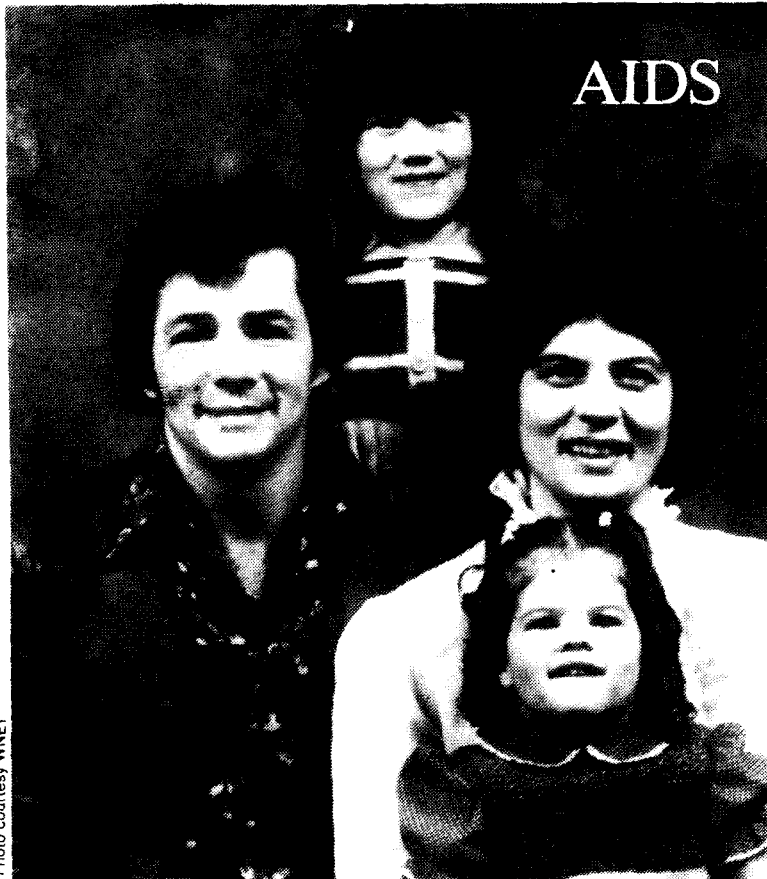
Although the tragedy of AIDS continues, the coverage has diminished of late. I'd like to think this is due to retroactive shame on the part of those TV journalists formerly out for blood, contaminated or otherwise. A more probable cause is their perception that the epidemic has outlived the public's appalled fascination with it. Despite its apparent mode of transmission, AIDS isn't nearly so sexy a news item these days as the forthcoming election, the Olympics or Mich-

ael Jackson's Victory Tour.

Nevertheless, I'm still awaiting that inevitable made-for-TV movie on this subject. It will, of course, be tasteful, sensitive and courageous. For the sake of wide audience identification it will focus on the emotional rigor's suffered by a gay AIDS patient's parents, heretofore ignorant of their doomed son's proclivities; Carol Burnett will be cast as the mother.

In the meantime, PBS has scheduled an hour-long documentary entitled *AIDS—Profile of an Epidemic*, produced by WNET in New York for a nationwide airdate on August 29. It is unquestionably the most comprehensive, factually scrupulous and emotionally temperate treatment this subject has received on TV thus far. Considering how lamentable its predecessors have been, this is qualified praise to be sure; admirable though it is, *AIDS—Profile of an Epidemic* is diluted by a flaw common to many documentaries on unpleasant subjects, namely an exaggerated concern for the tender sensibilities of its presumed audience. *Profile of an Epidemic* gives a clear-eyed account of the illness in the abstract, but it shrinks from making it quite clear to the viewer just who most of the sufferers are and what are the crucial issues they face.

The medical dimensions of the AIDS crisis are presented with unimpeachable clarity. (No real surprise there, as the research for this project was conducted by Nathan Fain and Lawrence Mass, the most knowledgeable and responsible print journalists on this issue.) The film carefully enumerates the pathology of this syn-



*PROFILE OF AN EPIDEMIC* draws sympathy by highlighting this hemophiliac victim (center left)—an archetypical family man.

drome, graphically illustrating the workings of the human immune system and what happens when it short-circuits. (In a bit of not-unwelcome gallows humor, cartoon helper and suppressor cells scamper about the screen, devouring alien invaders like Pac Men with the munchies.)

Approximately half of the on-screen interviewees are physicians immersed in AIDS work. Seconded by the voice-over narration, they take great pains to debunk the more virulent phobias surrounding this syndrome—fears of contagion through casual contact, and by the donation of blood—as well as to deplore the bigotry too often manifested toward AIDS-susceptible groups by the general populace and the medical community alike. Particularly eloquent is Dr. Joel Weissman of the UCLA Medical Center, who speaks movingly of

the emotional toll exacted by watching his patients and friends die of AIDS. He shows unusual insight concerning the importance for gay men to continue expressing their sexual needs while minimizing risk during this crisis in the community.

At various intervals, the film recounts the statistical breakdown of AIDS patients diagnosed thus far—72 percent homosexual men, 17 percent drug abusers, 4 percent people of Haitian origin, less than 1 percent hemophiliacs, a smaller fraction yet comprising children who contracted the syndrome *in utero* from addicted mothers, the rest unclassifiable to date. In its demographic symmetry, *Profile of an Epidemic* is scrupulous to a flaw: the patients on view in the film are as heterogeneous and numerically balanced as the protagonists of a Warner Brothers foxhole

movie of the '40s. Yet the above statistics show that despite the film's calculated symmetry, AIDS has not been an equal opportunity affliction.

*Profile of an Epidemic* tentatively aims to incite compassion among a wide viewing public for those who suffer from this mysterious condition. And it's hardly accidental that the film opens and concludes with the two figures least threatening for the mainstream viewer, as well as the least statistically significant—respectively, an afflicted six-year-old, viewed with his sage and affectionate grandmother, and a hemophiliac, an archetypical family man photographed with his devoted wife and children in their immaculate ranch-style home.

Not even the most callous observer could withhold sympathy from these people—after all, neither sex nor drugs brought them to their present state. Their plight is further underscored by the pain we watch family members endure, as their loved ones languish with little hope. (Don't homosexuals, addicts or Haitians have relatives and friends who care about them? In these cases, the only people we see giving succor and support are their doctors.)

With the best possible intentions, this slant deliberately, if subtly blurs what should logically be the film's central focus. *Profile of an Epidemic* is too tactful to stress that AIDS has ravaged the gay male subculture first and foremost. Although it's an inconvenient fact that, for most Americans, homosexuals don't make the most poignant victims, the ramifications for this community—both medical and psychological—have to be the primary issue here. Obviously, it's a far more difficult task to exhort an indifferent if not hostile straight majority to extend its concern on this basis. Still it's a pity that an otherwise lucid and honest work of reportage should founder from this failure of nerve.

Stephen Harvey is the assistant film curator of the New York Museum of Modern Art and writes about film for the New York Times and the Village Voice.



The Black and the Green

Now here's a travel film with a difference. Not only does it take you to places you might never go, but it reveals unexpected discoveries of the travellers themselves along the way. The 45-minute documentary is the story of five black veterans of civil rights activism—each of them distinctive and some downright idiosyncratic—on a trip to Northern Ireland organized by Irish-American sympathizers of the Republican movement. Filmmaker St. Clair Bourne, who has weathered almost two decades in documentary filmmaking and who was once staff producer for the black current affairs series *Black Jour-*

Veteran documentary filmmaker St. Clair Bourne

nal on public TV, followed the five as they met with families of prisoners who were then on hunger strike in the H-blocks; with Loyalists; and with British officials. Some of the visitors' reactions offer at least as much insight into American social conditions as into Irish ones. One man, for instance, comments that he was astonished to see that white people could oppress white people, and that he could feel solidarity not only across the ocean but across racial lines. Several members of the tour are lifelong pacifists and are critical of

the IRA. Yet one says, near the trip's conclusion, that he thinks there might be a time when violent action is necessary. The film itself is neither didactic nor partisan. Instead, it is a thought-provoking record of a fragile, often-imperilled, line of communication established during this unusual journey. The film was rejected, after initial approval, by public TV, but is available from Chamba Media, P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417.

### Electric Dreams

*Electric Dreams* is a movie that illustrates the difference between diverting and entertaining. Insipid and draggy in its overall execution, it has moments and elements that sparkle and attract.

The film is mildly interesting for its topicality—finally a movie that casts a computer in the lead. Director Steve Barron (with Rusty Lemorande as writer) has cooked up a plot to go with the notion, one that sounds better than it plays. Lenny von Dahlen is the nerd architect haplessly in love with his neighbor, cellist Virginia Madsen. His new toy, the home computer, is also smitten with her, and sends her love signals in the form of synthesized music. You can imagine the rest; many crises of near-discovery

later, it turns out she loves the man instead of the computer. This would be a happy ending if the people did not resemble androids and if the computer weren't so engaging.

More interesting is the fact that Steve Barron is a producer of rock videos, including Human League's "Don't You Want Me," Madonna's "Burnin' Up," and Joan Armatrading's "What Do Boys Dream Of?" He is the first of a handful of rock video producers who are now getting their chance to make Hollywood films, including the soon-to-be released *Body Rock*, *Roadhouse* and *Cry of the City*. Video producers are famous for cranking out product on lower than low budgets and less than no time. *Electric Dreams* looks like a movie made by people who are pros at cutting corners and striking the convenient deal. It also bears little evidence of time spent in retakes or in pondering angles and lighting, and no evidence at all of care in establishing credibility of character. But its best moments are those that most closely resemble rock videos. Then, the movie floats free of the plot altogether, mixing and mat-

ching sound and image in technical *tour-de-force*. Barron has a large grab-bag of pop culture references with him at all times, and when he plays with images from TV commercials, old movies, electronic noises of daily life and rock sounds (many brought to you by Giorgio Moroder), you too can indulge in some electric dreaming. Barron, unencumbered with movie traditions, brings a sensibility somewhere between avant-garde TV commercials and the random imagery of MTV to his story.

*Electric Dreams* may be out in front on another trend: the revenge of the object. These two young people, archetypical consumers, live in a world ordered, even controlled by their machines. Their daily lives blip and burp and beam at them—ticket machines, cash registers, watches, video scanners. It's a sign of how innocuous this movie is that the worst these machines do is to attack people. The true nightmare, as anyone trying to get 20 bucks out of the automatic teller at 10:00 p.m. can tell you, is just having them break down.

—Pat Aufderheide ©



# Clements

Continued from page 13

*What are the options, and how is the U.S. rather than the far right in El Salvador being the obstacle?*

According to the Salvadoran Ministry of Finance, about \$1 billion has flowed out of that country in the last three to four years. Everyone else alleges that it's in Swiss and Miami banks. In the same time, we've provided \$1.2 billion in military and economic aid. The Salvadoran right has no interest in stopping this process. I don't think you'll find a member of the Salvadoran military command who doesn't have family and a large amount of their assets in Miami. They have no reason to look for a different solution. The U.S. is bent upon a course of military victory, and the threat they see may be socialism in our hemisphere. It certainly has nothing to do with democracy.

If this administration comes back into office, they're going to reinterpret the election as a mandate to carry out their agenda in Central America. I think the first manifestation of that would be an intense air war. They would have carrier-based air mobility provided by helicopters, which the Salvadoran military does not have. They'll have C-130s, which [U.S.] Gen. Paul Gorman has already tried to introduce, loaded with Gatling guns that fire 6,000 rounds a minute.

There are three of those and two 20 mm. cannons in them that each fire a couple thousand rounds a minute. From 10,000 feet their infrared scopes can't tell the difference between a fleeing column of civilians and a fleeing column of guerrillas.

*So you think technical aid can triumph despite rhetoric about "the will of the people"?*

Sure. It's making a difference now just in terms of morale. This isn't a Vietnam; the Vietnamese had underground hospitals eight stories beneath the ground, a tunnel complex, 30 years of warfare, sanctuary in Laos and Cambodia and huge superpowers providing them arms. The analogy I make [between El Salvador and Vietnam] is with the conduct of U.S. foreign policy, and I seldom take it farther, because there are a lot of differences. I think the guerrillas are vulnerable.

*Some people here are critical of U.S. intervention but worry about the guerrillas' commitment to democracy.*

We have our own concept of democracy based on elections. Our form of democracy, do they have a commitment to that? Not as we know it. But in the controlled zones of Salvador, if you asked peasants if they thought they shared power in controlling their own destiny, I think they would say "yes." If you asked about freedoms, they would talk about being free of the landlord for the first time in their lives, about being free of the death squads, free to send their child to a clinic for the first time, free to learn to read,

free to look to the future with some hope.

*What are the changes you underwent in that year? You had already gone through a transformation in Vietnam.*

My understanding of violence and non-violence was deepened, and my commitment to non-violence was strengthened. One peasant in a base Christian community asked me why I didn't carry a gun. I said something about being a Quaker and [believing in] non-violence. Finally Gabriel said, "You gringos are always worried about violence done with machetes and machine guns. I used to work on the hacienda and take care of the dogs and give them a big bowl of milk and meat every day. Then we couldn't put that on our tables. I would take them to a veterinarian when they were ill, but our children were dying of lack of medical care with only a nod of sympathy from the landlord. Until you understand the violence to the spirit from watching your children die of malnutrition, you'll never understand violence or non-violence."

*A lot of people, I think, have the attitude that "we can't just pull out."*

We could play a role in Latin America like Lord Carrington did with Rhodesia becoming Zimbabwe with ballots, not bullets. There were elections like those in El Salvador where the rebel candidates couldn't participate because the white security forces held the arms, and the puppet candidate, Bishop Muzorewa, much like Duarte, won more than 60 percent of the vote. After Lord Carrington facilitated negotiations that led to an international

peacekeeping force, elections were held with the white security forces, the equivalent of the death squads, in their barracks and Bishop Muzorewa won less than 8 percent of the vote. We could play a role like that, but not with a Republican administration. And the Democrats have been hesitant to make it an election issue.

*So you think it is possible to create a government that integrates the existing government and the guerrillas?*

Ian Smith said he would never negotiate with a black man. The oligarchy in El Salvador would also be faced with the decision to share the pie or lose it all. Most aren't concerned, since their assets and families are in Miami. That may be why we see such an intransigence to the most minimal change in El Salvador. ■

## O'Leary

Continued from page 24

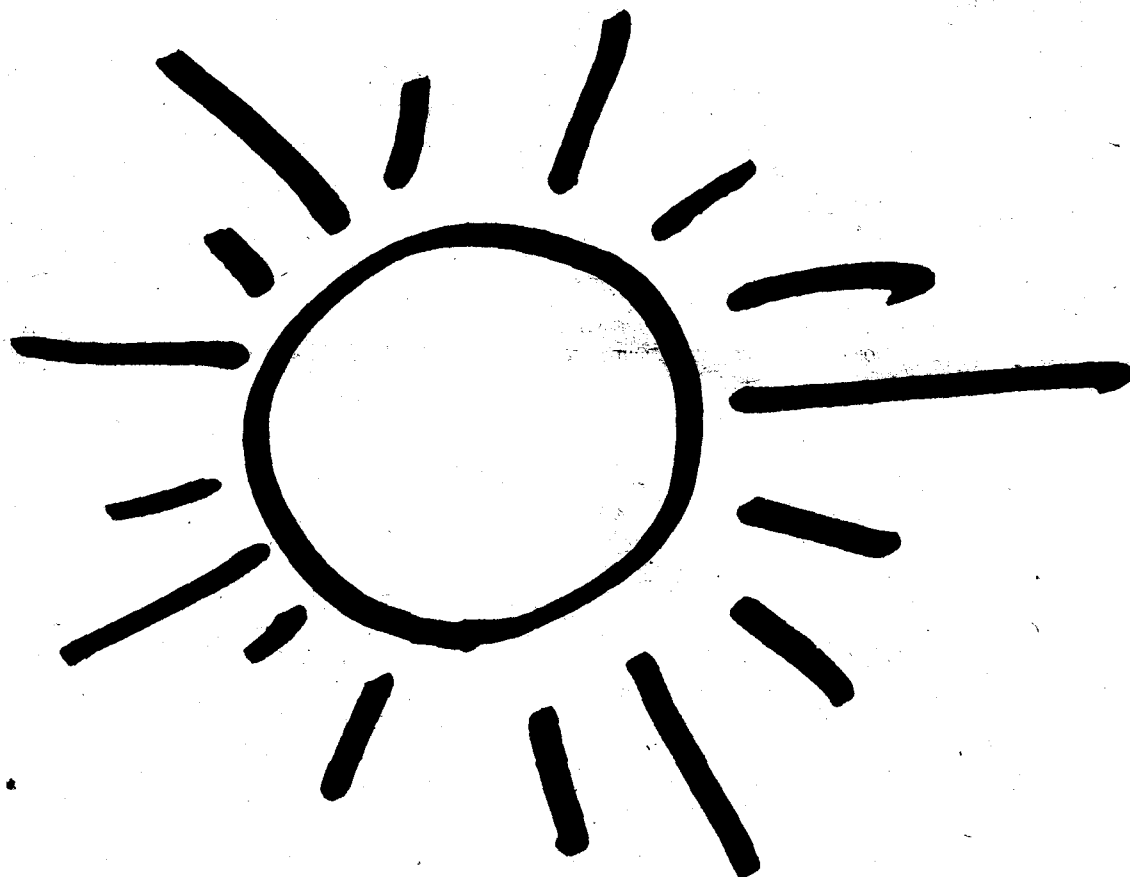
They aren't just trying to break the union. They are changing the population of Clifton—bringing in Anglo workers they hope will be more cooperative. They are trying to destroy the dignity of these people and take away their home. That's what we're fighting against."

O'Leary has touched upon an element that rarely surfaces in media reports. Most of the strikers are Hispanic. Most of the nonstriking workers are Anglo. The Phelps Dodge management is Anglo. The DPS force is mostly Anglo. That ethnic tension is deep in the labor history of the Southwest. Ignoring it does not make it go away.

But for the most part the unions, including the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) the largest union involved, cannot fight their battles in terms of ethnic conflicts. Yet the people in the streets of Clifton know what they feel, and also sense what others feel toward them. And O'Leary is free to champion their cause. His charisma may be what has made him a popular leader. As a union women's auxiliary member who was selling burritos at the Saturday rally put it, "For us it's not just a union contract, it's a way of life—the right to live where we want, how we want."

O'Leary did not attend the union rally, ostensibly because it was being held on Phelps Dodge property. But the rift over his afternoon march was obviously serious. Angel Rodriguez, president of USWA Local 616, said he did not "know anything about" the march, except that they had asked O'Leary not to hold it. Rodriguez said that any violence at the march would defeat the purpose of the rally, which was to let the outside world "meet all these 'bad' people they've been hearing about."

But most observers agree that, right or



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## CALENDAR

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### M O M E N C E , I L

**August 24, 25, 26**

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**October 24-26**

Conference: "Industry and Society": The Global Economy. Beard Auditorium, Stouffer Hall, Indiana University of Pennsylvania. Exploration of the social, economic and political aspects of the global economy. Speakers include: Richard Barnett, Harley Shaiken, Bennet Harrison, Ann Markusen, June Nash, John Sheehan and William Winpisinger. For information contact the IUP Center for Community Affairs, 359 Sutton Hall, Indiana, PA 15705, (412) 357-2443.



wrong, the outside world would not have had much of a look without O'Leary's leadership. At one point in the morning just before the rally began, there were at least as many reporters as participants at the park. It was not the kind of media coverage given to a normal rally with speeches, a Western barbecue and dancing.

USWA Western District Director Robert Petris said as much in a speech at the rally. "Dr. O'Leary has strong views," Petris said. "But his heart and his mind

and the tools of his trade have been in support of the strikers, and we owe him a lot of thanks. Sometimes we must struggle to the top of the mountain from two sides."

#### Skin the cat.

Even I.W. Abel, retired international president of the USWA, told the rally that, yes, justice would come, but it might be way down the road. Abel recalled how his union had later put the screws to the giant Kennecott Corpora-

tion after losing a battle with it in 1968. "It's a long road that has no turns," Abel said, and Phelps Dodge Chairman of the Board George Munroe will find out "there's more than one way to skin the cat."

Despite the rhetoric, many union members believe that their leaders are now fighting simply to maintain some union presence in the Phelps Dodge operation—decertification petitions have already been submitted to the National Labor Relations Board. Father Steve Sten-

cil, pastor of Clifton's Sacred Heart parish, told *In These Times* that privately many of his striking parishioners have all but given up.

Yet one speaker after another addressing the rally declared that the outcome of the Phelps Dodge strike was important to the country as a whole, and on that point almost everyone still agrees.

As one union worker said, "People have to remember that when the unions go down, all working people go down."

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### PUBLICATIONS

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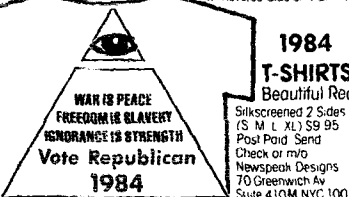
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# From company doctor to people's doctor

BUCKEYE, AZ

**F**ISTS PUNCHING TOWARD THE desert sky, chanting "Union! Union! Union!" Dr. Jorge O'Leary and several hundred striking copper workers marched through the isolated mining town of Clifton, Ariz., to a June 30 rally marking the first anniversary of a bitter, sometimes violent strike by 13 unions against the Phelps Dodge Corporation in Arizona.

Except for an occasional police helicopter chopping over the canyon, O'Leary's march and the rally, held at a park high above the town, went off peacefully. But late in the day, during a delayed shift change at the nearby Morenci mine and smelter, violence again ripped through Clifton. Pickets, bystanders and a host of reporters had gathered near O'Leary's People's Clinic on U.S. Route 666 in town. Strikers were shouting the usual obscenities at the scabs coming down from the smelter.

Suddenly a man broke a flimsy picket sign against the side of a passing vehicle. With little warning, a hundred Arizona Department of Public Safety (DPS) officers in full riot gear appeared firing tear-gas canisters, smoke bombs, wooden bullets. Strikers returned rocks and bottles. Everyone in the vicinity was gassed, including some young children. One canister exploded in a nearby liquor store. Several people were injured, none seri-

ously. Police wrestled about 20 strikers into a waiting prison bus.

Many observers, not all of them union people, charged the DPS with overreacting. O'Leary said he could have prevented the violence if the DPS had contacted him instead of attacking. He said he was at home with his family. The DPS claimed that at least two of their men had spotted O'Leary on the scene. "They are lying," O'Leary said, just as "they have been for a year."

Who is this man, Dr. Jorge O'Leary, who hounds mining conglomerates, challenges the state police, even defies the leadership of the unions he fights for and rides the shoulders of his followers like a Saturday afternoon hero? His people cheer him. Phelps Dodge executives set their jaws against him. The governor seeks his advice.

Until a year ago O'Leary was employed by the Phelps Dodge medical facility at Morenci. He says he worked endless hours and was a "perfect slave," though well paid. When the picket lines went up in July 1983, the company told him not to treat striking workers. O'Leary balked, criticized the policy and was fired by Phelps Dodge.

O'Leary then began treating striking workers and their families free of charge in the clinic he opened on Clifton's main drag. The doctor, his wife Anna and their five children got by on what he could collect from the few patients having Medi-

care or other medical insurance.

His course was set at a union rally in October, when someone in the crowd said, "We want our doctor to talk." Since that time many strikers have come to look to O'Leary for inspiration and guidance. He has stumped the country, carried the strikers' cause to national labor leaders, to union officials at copper mines in Mexico, to Trotskyists in Detroit—in fact, to almost anyone who would lend an ear or some support. And to the striking workers in Arizona, especially the Hispanics, Jorge O'Leary has become something of a folk hero.

O'Leary, 43, has a quiet, almost self-effacing air, a dark-eyed gentle look. Yet at the head of a march he shouts and waves his fists at the sky, whirls and dances backward down the highway as he ignites the crowd. Face running with sweat in the 100-degree heat, his Mexican accent over-taking him in his enthusiasm, he shouts into the microphones shoved toward him: "We're going to win this strike! We're going to win this strike!" And, for those few high moments at least, it seems hard for a people ravaged by a year of bitterness, deprivation and division not to believe him.

The doctor-turned-labor-activist was born in the Mexican state of Sonora. His grandfather emigrated from Ireland to the U.S. and then got a job driving a locomotive in Mexico.

Elected student president of the Uni-

versity of Mexico medical college in Mexico City, O'Leary led student protests against the government in the '60s. Twelve years ago he went to work for Phelps Dodge in Morenci after doing postgraduate work in this country.

## A political strike.

On the Friday before the anniversary rally, O'Leary's People's Clinic is even busier than usual. Reporters from all over the state and beyond are in Clifton. Everyone wants to interview O'Leary. He sees reporters between patients. The small waiting room is full. There is a phone call from NBC News. Voices are raised against the whirl of an old-fashioned floor fan.

What is his relationship to labor, I ask him. Many believe he is dividing the strikers. Union officials want a solidarity rally, not a political march. They have asked him not to go ahead with his march. Is he going to lead it anyway?

O'Leary's look hardens. "Every rally is political. This is a political strike. The Reagan administration has made it political by breaking unions and creating an antiunion mentality based more on conservative ideology than on economics."

"Phelps Dodge has pushed it from a labor to a political dispute having to do with human dignity," he continues. "The company wants to humiliate these people."

*Continued on page 22*



Tim McCarthy

by Tim McCarthy



Tim McCarthy